000 Editor's Note: Since this book is translated from German, the titles of books are translated from German also - instead of from original Ukranian or Russian. Therefore, the original titles are not given, only the translation.

/5/

Foreword

[114] The present work was written in the years 1938/39, - in the period when the West Ukrainians in the, however brief, existence of what was then Poland, were very much excited by an autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine, the present-day Hungarian Carpathia. It was not only the West Ukrainians who in those days believed the hour of Greak Ukraine had come.

121 The book represents an attempt, based on a journalist's personal knowledge and a thorough study of the country, to acquaint the German reader with the Ukrainian people, their country, their history, their culture, their way of life and their character.

In spite of the fact that since the book was completed in August 1939, fundamental changes have occurred in the eastern part of Europe as a result of the defeat of Poland and the struggle against Bolshevik Muscovite rule, the book can be published almost unchanged. 000 For there was no change in the terrible fate of the East Ukrainians in the old Soviet Ukraine up to the day of their liberation by German troops. The West Ukrainians in eastern Poland, in Bukovina and Bessarabia - regions which Moscow appropriated more or less forcibly after the collapse of Poland - had to learn during the brief period of

000 the Soviet regime what it means to live in a "workers' paradise". /6/ Not only was its entire intelligentsia deported or physically annihilated, its very highly developed cultural institutions were also completely destroyed.

121 Now Soviet-Muscovite tyranny over the Ukrainian people has come to an end. We aim to show in this book the state of development of the Ukrainian people and of their economy at the moment of liberation. I am indebted especially to
000 Dr. Olena Kuschnir of Vienna and Professor Panas Fedenko of Prague for their collaboration and reading the manuscript.

Berlin, April 1942 The Author

11: Obermaier--3 J-3(no date)1942RD1 Ukraine RD1

UKRAINE
Land of Black Earth

/7/ **The Outpost**

000 Reaching the first villages of a different people, the stranger stands helpless. The great unknown of this world fills him with awe, with the wish to fathom its essence, and with vague expectations. Velykyi Lypnyk is such a village on the edge of a large community ruled by other laws. It is the most westerly outpost, the spearhead, as it were, of the self-contained settlement area of a people whose often grandiose history bears /8/ out the truth: Woe to the vanquished! This race of Ukrainians is the largest on earth without its own state. Often the Ukrainians were chosen by providence for great deeds; for a long time they protected the West from the wild Asiatic hordes, then history made them dead quiet. They were forgotten and almost abandoned to extinction. But the people refused to be "a branch of the large Russian tree; they wanted to be a tree themselves, with roots, trunk, branches and leaves, drawing its nourishment from its own soil". Again and again they rose up against ruling peoples, they fought, won and - lost. /8/

/3/ A two- to three-hour drive by automobile separates the self-contained German settlement in Silesia from the Ukrainian spearhead in eastern Slovakia at the foot of the High Tatra. In between lies the settlement of the Zips Germans. It is a mere weekend excursion from Breslau or Vienna to the border of the Ukrainian realm. For the inhabitant of Breslau it is no farther than Berlin and for the Viennese it is as far as Munich. It takes six hours by car from Vienna or Breslau up the Oder and the Waag along the quiet, dreamy woodland slopes of the Slovakian mountains to the High Tatra. Between it and the Lower Beskid the

/3/crystal-clear Poprad eats it way toward Galicia. Along this small stream live Ukrainians; near it lies Velykyi Lypnyk. Its neighbors are Germans, Gorals and Slovaks.

77/ Here lies the border of a strange world, a world whose other edge reaches almost to the Caspian Sea on the threshold of Asia. In it birth, life, death, time and many other things have a different value than elsewhere, other criteria obtain, and every stranger who would attempt to apply his own measure would fail. Even Christ has become different; he does not wear the crown of thorns, but the emperor's crown on his brow. Thus he sits in judgment over mankind. Here other altars are built, not the puritanically strict ones of the evangelical church nor the ostentatious ones of the Catholic, but the magnificent ones of the Byzantine church. The mysticism of this world between the peaks of the High Tatra, the glaciers of the Caucasus and the glistening mirror of the Caspian is already revealed here where Rome, Constantinople and Moscow are an equal distance away. True, the church steeple has an onion-shaped cupola, like any Bavarian one, but beside it two smaller cupolas adorn the roof and the altar conceals a magnificent painted screen, designed to wrap the service in still greater mystery. Like pure gold this iconostasis with the pictures of six prophets /9/ and twelve apostles is spread out before the sanctuary. Its basic tone is blue and yellow, the Ukrainian colors.

77b With God these people communicate through the priest, with the devil, directly. Even though they believe in Christ with deep religiosity, they by no means wish to be on a bad footing with the Evil One. It is not good to have him for an enemy; it is better not to say his name, or he might think he is being called and is expected to come. These people are also on good terms with spirits. The latter must be respected, feared,

776 appeased, exorcised. When the priest of Velykyi
Lypnyk consecrates the water of the village brook
on the sixth of January, the people believe that
the demons are thus driven away.

326 The men of Valykyi Lypnyk are tinkers, a
221/ trade which in many places has a bad flavor. It
is easy to say that they travel about the country
like gypsies. But even though they wander from
village to village, a small bundle of tools on
their backs, repairing stoves and mending pots,
they are, nevertheless, not homeless. As soon as
spring comes, poverty drives them out on the road,
and only late in the fall when the first white
flakes begin to fall, they return to their wives
and children with the few groschen they have saved.
241/ For land is scarce, the clod of earth small, the
soil is poor and the climate harsh.[1] The women work
like drudges for their bit of barley bread and potatoes.
With their small cows and a wooden plough
they till the lower slopes of the mountain ridges.
They sow by hand, harrow, and in the fall they cut
off the barely ripe ears of grain with a sickle.
286 In their "spare time" these women[1] with their
291/ strangely narrow faces sit barefoot in their full
pleated skirts and pale pink blouses, a charming
little cap on their heads, at their looms and
tirelessly ply their shuttle back and forth between
the taut threads, or press wool into felt
for the jackets and trousers of their husbands.
342 The rooms of these "tinkers"[1] are surprisingly
large and clean; the kitchen, living room, /10/
bedroom and work room are all in one. The whole
structure with adjoining stable and wagon shed is
built of wood, the inside unfinished, the outside
[289] covered with loam. In order that there be no lack
of magic, carpenters carve three suns into the
central roof beam.

184 How rich these "tinkers" of East Slovakia
were with their little plot of free earth, their
two or three cows, their barley bread and their
loom, compared to their brothers in Carpatho-

[1] [In the village of Valykyi Lypnyk, Western Ukaine -Analyst]

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184 Ukraine, to the small farmers in the Polish
Ukraine, helpless and oppressed by the Poles, to
the Soviet Ukrainians working in factories or on
collective farms, or even to the exiles! They[1] all
[212] speak the same language, albeit in different dialects,
they write the same Cyrillic script, regard
the good fortune of one among them as a common
possession, while the misfortune that strikes one
is felt by all.

101 The thousand souls of Velykyi Lypnyk belong
to the westernmost tribe of Ukrainians, the Lemki.
[197] They apeak a Slovakian-Ukrainian border dialect.
Ukrainian scholars maintain that the Ukrainian
settlements formerly reached almost to Cracow,
but that the Lemki were pushed back into the
mountains by the Poles in the North and the Slovaks
in the South. Until the collapse of Poland a
bitter nationality fight went on for this small
spearhead, especially on the part of Poland, and
in the process the Lemki, as the weaker ones, were
obliged to yield step by step. The Magyars, no
less than the Poles, oppressed the Ukrainian
neighboring tribes of Boyki and Huzul and even
more than the Slovaks oppressed the Lemki. The
Magyar clergy added close to 160,000 Ukrainian
souls to their ethnic group. In the census the
word "Magyar" stands under the heading of "nationality",
and "Greek Orthodox" under the heading
of "religion". They are the denationalized
Ukrainians who have, for the present, still remained
true to their faith. All this began when,
at the /11/ end of the last century, the Magyar
clergy introduced Magyar hymns, and when in 1912
the Bishop of Haydudorog invented and decreed a
Hungarian liturgy in place of the Old Slavic
one. (1)

1. The Ukraine and the Church Union,
page 33.

[1] [The Capatho-, Polish-, Soviet-, and East
Slovakian Ukrainians — Analyst]

/12/

Come Along, Friend

101 The Ukrainian country has been given various names. It is called the "largest meadow", and this implies the blossoming steppe in springtime and the nomadic herds numbering hundreds of thousands of cattle and sheep. But it is also called "cornhouse", and this recalls the huge granaries in the harbors of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. It is said to be the easternmost Mediterranean country, because its people are dark-haired and gayer than the thick-blooded Russians in the north, because the sun beats down as it does on the shores of the Mediterranean, and because in the Crimea cypresses and cedars tower into the heavens, figs and almonds ripen. Then, too, it is called a "peninsula of Asia" because the steppes of this continent reach over as far as the Dniestr and the delta of the Danube, and for two thousand years one Asiatic horde after another have pitched their tents in these wide spaces. Still others say that the Ukraine is the "bridge to India", for up to the Middle Ages the large trade routes from the West to the Far East and Asia Minor intersected here with those of the northern countries to Byzantium. Napoleon was of this opinion when he wanted to destroy the British Empire through the conquest of India. Czar Paul III[2] was supposed to carry out this plan, and ~~had~~ declared himself prepared to do so. His well-timed murder, however, in those days saved the British rule in India. (2)

2. Trietsch, Russia, page 24.

131 Geographers have established the fact that the Ukrainian national territory extends from 43 to 53 degrees northern latitude and from 21 to 45 degrees eastern longitude. /13/ They say

[2] [sic --Analyst]

131 further that the boundaries of the Ukrainian nation may be divided into southern boundaries (Black Sea and Caucasus), southwest boundaries (Rumanians and Magyars), western boundaries (Slovaks and Poles), northern boundaries (White Russians and Russians) and eastern boundaries (peoples of the Don and the Caucasus). For these scholars Ukraine is the southern part of the vast Sarmatian lowland between the Carpathian arc, the Finnish highland, the Urals and the Caucasus. They certainly go to great pains to reduce to a common denominator the censuses of the various states in which the Ukrainians have been forced to live. They have added up the square kilometers of all Ukrainian countries and the people living in them, and have reached the following maximal result for 1933: (3)

162 3. Kubyievych: The Distribution of Population in the Ukraine, page 6.

Ukrainian provinces on January 1, 1933 within the states:	Surface in 1000 sq. kilometers	Surface area of total Ukrainian territory in percentage	Inhabitants in 1000	Proportion of inhabitants of total Ukrainian populated area in percentage
Soviet Union.......	773.4	82.4	43,658	79.6
Poland........	132.2	14.1	9,198	16.8
Rumania.......	17.6	1.9	1,258	2.3
Czechoslovakia.	14.9	1.6	746	1.3
	938.1	100.0	54,860	100.0

The maximal result means that the Ukrainians in/162 these maximal boundaries have partly an absolute, partly a relative majority. The Ukrainians have an absolute majority in a total of 718,300 square kilometers on which there are 47,657 million inhabitants. (4)

4. Kubyievych: Geography of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 19.

Within the wider boundaries there are 30.2% foreign minorities, and in the narrower boundaries, 24.7%. (5)

5. Kubyievych: Geography of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 305 ff.

In 1933 there was a total of 43,360,000 Ukrainians throughout the world; of these 34.43 million were in the Soviet Union, 5.87 million in Poland, 1.1 million in Rumania (including Bessarabia and Bukovina), and 590,000 in Czechoslovakia. The remainder were Ukrainians living outside the country. (6) According to the well-known Ukrainian(101)

6. Ibid., page 325.

geographer Kubyievych, the Ukrainian racial /11/ boundary is difficult to determine in the eastern part of the Caucasian foreland where, besides Ukrainians, there are also Russian and Caucasian peoples, and on the northern boundary, where in the region of Chernigov the question is disputed as to whether the inhabitants are Ukrainians, Russians or White Russians. If we distribute the/161 54,870,000 inhabitants of the entire Ukrainian settled area over the 938,000 square kilometers of surface, 58.5 souls accrue to one square kilometer, while the number is 67.3 if we do not include the thinly populated mixed area of the eastern

161 Caucasian foreland. (7) This corresponds roughly to the density of population in the Balkan countries.

7. Kubyietych: The Distribution of Population in the Ukraine, page 11.

133 The geographers have investigated the surface of the Ukrainian provinces and found that only 1.5% of the entire surface is more than 1000 meters high, barely 3.5% over 500 meters and 68.5% between 100 and 300 meters. Scarcely 1% of the Ukrainian population live in actual mountains, and surely more than half of all Ukrainians have never seen any mountains. (8)

8. Kubyievych: The Geography of the Ukrainian and the Bordering Areas, page 65.

132 For decades scholars studied the climate, measured precipitation, heat and cold, and did not forget to check from what direction the wind blows. When they had made sufficient investigations, they established the fact that the Ukraine has an "oak climate", specifically in the damp, moderately cold northern and central Ukraine. Adjacent to this in the south is the "dry climate" zone with little precipitation, where there is less rain the farther southeast one goes. Moreover, geographers feel that it is significant that the Ukraine, along with the Carpathians, the Yaila Mountains in the Crimea, and the Caucasus have a mountain climate and that the southern shore of the Crimean Peninsula and the eastern coast of the Black Sea have a Mediterranean climate. Whereas the Ukrainians of the north would gladly renounce some of the 600 millimeters and more of precipitation which annually flood their fields, those of the south call upon God and all the spirits to send them a little more than their 200 millimeters of rain. But it need

132 not be one of those terrible thunderstorms which /15/ hover threateningly over the villages for half a day at a time, sending down ghastly lightnin or cloudbursts which wash away the humus. Nor should the moisture be accompanied by one of those icy snowstorms in which man and animal, shepherds and herds numbering in the thousands easily come to grief if they are caught by the impenetrable swirl of flakes on the open field.

133 The geographers who like to divide up the earth into zones studied Ukrainian soil with regard to its flora and found that north Ukraine down to Kiyev belongs to the region of north European forests where, besides oak, alder and birch, the spruce flourishes. In the south and southeast the dense forests open up into park landscapes and forest glades. The farther south one goes, the more scarce and sparse the islands of mighty oaks, lindens and elms become. This is the region of the wooded steppe which finally passes over into 134 the open, almost treeless grassy steppe. Seventy million hectares of Ukrainian soil is fertile black earth. It has erroneously been considered inexhaustible. Even though today the soil does not yet tolerate any artificial fertilizer, scholars are already racking their brains over the sad prospect that the natural fertility of black loam, the ideal of all farmers the world over, will be exhausted in about 50 years. Already at the time of the last czar, model farms and experimental stations sought ways and means to meet this danger.

⁂

000 Come along, comrade, and wander to the east toward the rising sun, into the land which at its greatest expanse is as long as the distance from Barcelona to Memel and as wide as the realm between the Brenner Pass and Kiel. Climb up from the merrily babbling Poprad through beech forests,

ovo along the gentle slopes of the Lower Beskid and, crossing the Hungarian border, proceed up the mountain range from peak to peak as far as the High Beskid. You will touch famous passes which lead from the Hungarian lowland /16/ to Galicia, and will pass many a lonely warrior graveyard where German heroes lie buried. Thus you will reach high crests, and if you are lucky and the east wind has swept the sky clean, you will see toward the south the silver ribbon of the puszta, and in the north the endless waves of hills disappearing into the horizon. Now the primeval forests of the Gorgany Range receive you, and you must make your way laboriously through thick brush and also climb down to well-nigh impenetrable spruce forests, cross sunny alpine meadows, and pick your way eastward on narrow hunters' paths. You will wander through a region where the brown bear looks for berries and honey, and, if he is terribly hungry, might also pounce upon a calf on a lonely pasture; where the lynx lies in wait for booty; where grand gentlemen hunt stags, and the royal eagle circles high above the valleys. Where the Tisza is but a tiny brook you cross over to the Black Mountains of Bukovina. You are standing on Rumanian soil. The silver banners of torrential waterfalls greet you, and quiet deep-green ravine lakes say: Rest yourself! Small unkempt Huzul horses that graze freely like cattle and sheep on the wide alpine meadows on the nearby slopes will keep you company.

Now turn toward the north, toward Galicia, and descend with the clear brooks and the young rivers across wide meadows into the foothills of the Carpathians. In their reaches lie the oil wells of Drohobych and Borislav. Now you are at the Dniestr and therewith on the edge of that grandiose Sarmatian landscape that knows no mountains. You will go hundreds of kilometers and the character of the landscape will not change; its boundless space will fascinate you again and again, as it does

[Podolia] [Volhynia]

everyone else from among our ranks. 000

Before the First World War it was said of 101
Podolia, which you will reach if you wander farther 181
north and which lies like a plateau over the Dniestr 311
Valley, that bread grows on fence posts there,
/Facing page 16: Kiev, the capital of Ukraine. [000]
View of the lower part of the city/; /Facing page
17: The old fortress of Feodosiya on the Crimea/[2]
/17/ and that the fences are woven out of sausages.
For the first time there lies before you
an immeasurable sea of surging grain. Not a house
far and wide, rarely a small wood. A groundless,
dusty field road, surprisingly seems to lead into
empty space, but where you think it ends, it leads
you straight as a die, by means of steep turns into
one of those deep valleys which the rivers in the
course of thousands of years have carved into the
plateaus. Down there the Podolians build their
loam huts, the whitewashed walls of which have already
greeted you from a distance through the green
of the plum and cherry trees. If you follow the
river upstream, it will more and more often lead
you around ponds, marshes and swamps the nearer you
come to its sources. You will see more storks
than you have ever seen before in your life.

Almost imperceptibly you will reach Volhynia, 101
the western part of which belonged to Poland up to 491
1939, but was subject to the czar before that. You 361
will notice this immediately by the lack of good
roads. For, as everywhere in former Czarist Russia,
there are only a few paved roads, but all the more
are there roads on which in dry weather you sink
into the dust and in wet weather into mud. You will
notice it also by the cities and towns which are 361
even dirtier and more neglected than those of Galicia.
You are in the midst of the ghettos of the world.
These cities are a jumble of houses, "with an ugly
traffic artery in the middle". They are spread out
with a total absence of form, as though they had been

[2] [For plates, cf. pp. 215-216, category 116 — Analyst]

[volhynia]

361 tossed down on the land, without any relationship
to it. "The absence of public buildings alone had
[342] a depressive effect. These wooden huts on a slope,
supported by stakes as though by high stilts, seemed merely to have been set down as chance would have it, less secure and permanent than nomad tents which the next day perhaps might already be taken down again. It scarcely seemed worthwhile to lay out a few roadways provisionally. For the rest, there was not a trace of a city plan, of a systematizing, architectural hand. Everything seemed temporary and unfinished, simply amassed, never shaped. The expression "shanty town" applied in a special /18/ sense to these places. Our criteria of beautifully compact city plans do not apply. Never concentrated within the area most difficult to attack, never held together by walls and moats, these Russian clusters of houses and courtyards which can scarcely be called cities any more, gradually become lost in the distance, without shape or outline: mirror images of the landscape that bears them, of the language that echoes in them, of the way of thinking of the people they house." (9)

9. Tintrup: War in the Ukraine, pages 23 and 24.

101 If you would now turn east in the direction
of Kiyev, you would come through numerous rambling
361 villages with streets. They contain attractive
563 farms where until recently you would have been
warmly welcomed with German sounds. The Volhynia
Germans lived here. But you continue northward
101 until the Volhynia plateau with a gradual incline
133 sinks into the Polesian swamps. You avoid this
marsh land by turning northeast, and thus come to the extreme northwest tip of the Ukrainian area of settlement, Podlakhia, whose waters flow toward the Baltic. The primeval forests of Bila Vesha are gloomy, but even more gruesome are the deep

101 swamps of Polesia. Faggot and fascine paths lead
133 you from village to village, from settlement to
settlement. If you visit this swamp land which
extends almost to the central Russian plain and
is about at large as Hungary including Carpatho-Ukraine,
in spring during the time of thaws or
during the floods of early summer, people will row
you in a boat to their neighbor's. For at these
times the rivers creeping in countless bends through
lakes, ponds and tributaries of this country, which
is only 170 meters above sea level, flood their
banks for many weeks, even months. This landscape
is unutterably sad, and, it has deprived of laughter
the few people it scantily nourishes with fish,
[136] potatoes and oats. Polesia is a land of spooks
without equal, where, across the bog through which
elk and bison, sure-footed, make their way, there
[137] rises the "pillared hall of centuries-old oaks,
lindens, aspens, ash trees, firs, spruces and
pines." /19/ The sun rarely shines into this twilight
where at night there are mysterious will-o'-the-wisps
in this world of mold. Deathly silence
prevails in this accursed land which even the birds
avoid. You are standing on the border of the Soviet
Union.

133 Descending the navigable Pripyat, and traveling
eastward halfway to the central Russian
plain, you reach, friend, the Dniepr, which comes
from the north. You have come to the sacred river
of the Ukrainians. They chant its praises in
countless songs. This third largest river of
Europe flows 2100 kilometers until, exhausted, it
empties into the Black Sea. If it happens to be
flood time, you will not be able to see from one
bank to the other, the river rises to such an extent.
It gets to be six, eight, even ten kilometers
wide. Herodotus already compared it with
the Nile.

505 If you now sail south[1] on a Dniepr steamer
you will reach Kiyev. Do not be surprised at the
numerous vessels which you meet on the river, for

[1] [From the confluence of the Dniepr and the Pripyat – Analyst]

505 the mercantile fleet which it carried was, even long before the war, as large as the total mercantile tonnage of the Austro-Hungarian fleet.
346 Even from far off you will see on the hills of the city lying on the right bank the strange cupolas of the Byzantine churches and monasteries. Kiyev was formerly the "Rome of the East", and even today it is the "mother of all Russian cities". Hundreds of thousands of devout pilgrims
788 annually visited the famous cave monastery of Pecherska Lavra, the cathedral of St. Sophia, the Golden Gate and other sacred spots.[1]

133 The churning steamer which you again board in the sprawling, pounding and shrieking harbor section[1] will take you farther downstream. On the west bank the high plateau of the Dniepr Plain rises steeply. If you should wander over this undulating hill country with its fields of wheat and sugar beets, you would see everywhere the traces of Ukraine's past: mighty grave mounds of nomad chieftains, and embankments with which in early times the Ukrainian people protected themselves against Asiatic brigands. /20/ To the left of the stream, in the east, you see nothing but wild thickets of reeds, dense, impenetrable green meadows behind which the Dniepr Plain is hidden.
361 You would find villages there[2] which have as many inhabitants as a medium-sized city and which equal a metropolis in surface area. However, they have remained villages in which peasants live on their homesteads; it is almost a day's journey to their fields. Khar'kov, a small Cossack hamlet in the seventeenth century, and today the second largest city of the Ukraine, is situated on the eastern edge of this plain.

133 In Dniepropetrovsk where formerly the rapids began, you turn eastward, friend, and now reach the steppes. The earth which is swept bare by the eternal east wind and by the dust storms, is completely naked as soon as you ascend the Donets

[1] [i.e. In Kiev — Analyst]

[2] [i.e. In the Dniepr Plain — Analyst]

11: Obermaier--17 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

133 Plain where lie the coal districts of the Ukraine. The more bleak and unfriendly this industrial country with its black chimneys appears to you, the friendlier the quiet, pale yellow Donets beckons yonder, with its broad, green valley and the white chalk precipices crowned by dark green forests. Now your journey takes you south to the Sea of Azov, across the mouth of the Don to the Caucasian foothills. Immeasurable fields of
101 sunflowers accompany you into this "second Ukraine".[1]
133 Here you feel the refreshing breath of the snowy mountains of the Caucasus. You are on the shores of the Argonauts. Virile and full of strength is this untouched land at the foot of the Elbrus. Like the mountains, the people, too, are giants. You have before you the descendants of the flower of the Ukrainian people, of the Zaporogian Cossacks who were settled here by Catherine II.

137 And now turn west, start homeward! The way
[133] leads across the Pontic Plain which extends north of the Black Sea as far as the Danube. On this "racial meadow" you will look in vain for the much-praised wild uncultivated steppe. You are in the land of Taras Bulba. Gogol, a Ukrainian, erected an imperishable monument to the bold Cossack in his tale. /21/ In those days the grass and shrubs of the steppe grew taller than a man, but today you will find only the knee-high herbs of the temporarily fallow fields, and here and there a thicket of wild cherries, mahaleb and thistles. Perhaps you will also come to one of those meadows that have become rare, which in a brief whiff of spring changes its color like a rich woman her clothes, wrapping itself in silver gray during the summer, and adorning itself in moss-green in autumn, when rain finally quenches the cracked earth. Smooth
133 and flat, amorphous as a calm sea, the Pontic Steppe stretches out before you. Burial mounds as
764 large as houses, called kurgany, point the way to the Dniestr. What ghastly secrets may they not

[1] [i.e. the Caucasian foothills — Analyst]

764 harbor! Some kurgany were opened and Scythian princes were found who had taken with them under the earth a retinue of more than 200 riders on horseback and in full armor.

000 You must not overlook the Crimean Peninsula, the Tauris of the Greeks! You pass through a narrow isthmus and find yourself on the Peninsula. Gradually the steppe mounts up to the Yaila Range from the peaks of which daring roads climb down the steep coast to the blue-green Black Sea. Crimea, ancient land of the Tatar! Christ was driven out of the Ukraine; but Mohammed has entrenched himself under the flat roofs of these Tatar villages and cities, in order to receive the prayers of his believers when the sun flames up over the Caucasus or sinks across Bessarabia. Thus southern Crimea with its Tatars, its marble palaces of past Russian grandeur, its groves of olives, mulberries and figs, and its Bolshewik sanatariums, leads a special existence which, in its timeless diversity, will affect you strangely.

361 The mouth of the Dniepr is behind you and Odessa lies in front of you. Catherine II, the great colonizer, erected this city on the bare ground of the steppe. The yellow shell-limestone coast drops steeply into the sea. Straight as a die, quite after the modern European pattern, the third largest city of Ukraine /22/ is laid out. You will miss trees and parks and perhaps you will say it is a cold heap of stones. You forget that Odessa in summer does not have enough water for its inhabitants to drink. The earth is saline and rain extremely sparse.

000 There are still fifty kilometers separating you from the Rumanian border. Beyond the Dniestr you are on Bessarabian soil, and here, too, you will meet Ukrainians. Travel up the imperceptibly rising Bessarabian plain between the Dniestr and the Prut, in the course of which you repeatedly touch on Rumanian soil, and you will reach green Bukovina where the hospitable Huzul will present

000 you with a strong drink of spirits after your long journey.

/23/

Grand-Princes

101 174 A song attributed to Mazepa compares the Ukrainian people to a bird that builds its nest in a tree on a much-frequented street, and is therefore often startled and obliged to live in a state of constant unrest. Today it has been proved that the ancestors built their nest very early along the much-traveled road from Asia to the lower Danubian plains. According to the most recent research (10), the Ukrainians settled as early as the Bronze Age between Carpathia, San, Pripyat and Dniepr. Even at that time they were obliged to shoulder a foreign yoke. At all times nomadic peoples with their herds of many hundreds of thousands of sheep, horses and camels were attracted to the succulent grasses of this endless steppe. A thousand years before our era the Cimmerii rode into the Ukrainian settlements at the head of restless peoples. Whether they were nomads or farmers, and whether they came over the Danube or the Volga has not yet been made clear. At about the same time the Thracians in the west sought their way from the Balkans across the Carpathians to East Galicia. To them the native population owes its ceramic art. The period of nomadic invasions occupies 2600 years of the country's history. The Scythians follow the Cimmerii about 800 B.C. Herodotus tells of their battles. Through him and through excavations we learn of the culture of this Mongol-Iranian people. The goldsmith's work with its magnificent ornaments, mostly of Greek origin, found in their

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10. According to verbal statements of the Ukrainian archaeologist Pasternak of Lwow.

101 174 graves, calls forth our admiration. Their aristocratic kingdom of the steppes was rigidly organized. For 400 years /24/ their kings accompanied by their retinues rode through the Pontic Plain until they were driven out by a stronger people, the Sarmatians. Scythians as well as Sarmatians repeatedly broke into Hungary on their marauding expeditions. In the second century of our era it is assumed that the Goths arrived in this plain of peoples. They came by way of the water route from the land of the Baltic and were the first river navigators in the Ukrainian countries - according to one group of investigators. Others say they are aborigines, and still others, have them come from the west or even the east. They allegedly dragged their boats on rollers across the flat watersheds between the rivers which flow toward the Baltic or the Black Sea. The fact that in the southern lands they did not sever connections with their homeland is proved by the military and commercial points of support which they established along these waterways. Their neighbors in Galicia were the Vandals. It was in 370 A.D. that the flood of Huns from Mongolia reached the dwellings of the Goths and swept away the latter. This was only the first wave of later mixed Finno-Turkish tides. This inexhaustible stream of humanity, at times slower, at other times torrential, engulfing everything, flowed along. Unpredictable was the will of these hordes which through many generations led a hunter's and shepherd's existence, only to plunge suddenly, like wolves, into the dwelling-places of foreign peoples.

It was not long before the Huns exhausted these ideal pastures and rode on in order to threaten western peoples. Along their trails the herds of the Bulgarians and after them the herds of the Turkish Avars passed across the Pontic Steppes. Finally, the Finno-Turkish race

101 174 of Khazars established a kingdom here, which extended from the Volga to the Danube. The Khazars were nomads who became domiciled, founded cities and carried on trade. At their court the Jews obtained predominating influence, and it sounds almost unbelievable to say that the khans adopted the faith of Moses. /Facing page [000] 24: Character study of a Ukrainian head*/Facing page 25: A Ukrainian girl with pronounced nordic features*/25/

[101] [174] 181 Kiyev, the center of the Polyani, was tributary to the Khazar. The Slavic tribes of the Antae, the ancestors of the Ukrainians, were divided and fought one another. In the establishment of their society they scarcely developed beyond the formation of a district with several peasant communities. Fields and pastures belonged to all jointly. Family life was a patriarchy. and unanimity was demanded at the village and district meetings. These Slavs built compact houses of loam, and placed embankments around their towns. They cultivated their fields, made pottery and bartered their goods for swords, knives and various handicraft products. They offered sacrifice to the sun god Dashdboh, the wind god Stryboh, the thunder god Perun and other deities.

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175 It was the Swedish Vikings, called Varangians, who in the ninth and tenth centuries unified the Slavic tribes and established a kingdom with Kiyev as the capital, which, during its most flourishing period, extended from the Carpathians to the Volga and from the Caucasus to the White Sea. They rowed in boats to Lake Ilmen, founded Novgorod and from there, about the middle of the ninth century, conquered Kiyev. Rurik was the name of the Viking king of Novgorod; his warriors were called Rus', meaning "rowers",

*[For plates, cf. pp. 217-218, Category 116 - Analyst]

nd the state as a whole: "Kiyev Rus", after 175
urik's successor Oleg moved the capital to Kiyev. The princes still took their wives and members of their retinue from Sweden.

Soon the Kiyev Rus were known in Constantinople. The splendor of the imperial city dazzled the Vikings who came to plunder or to be enlisted as mercenaries. Even in ancient times they had come before the gates of Byzantium with 200 sailboats and 6000 men, and a few years later there were 14,000 of them who plundered its suburbs. /26/ They carried on their marauding expeditions as far as the wealthy settlements of the southern Caspian up to the border of Persia. Contemporary Arabian and Greek writers say of the warlike Rus': "They are bold and courageous. When they attack a strange people, they do not desist until they have completely annihilated it." (11) Georgius of Amastra writes that at the beginning of the ninth century "the race of the Rus' which is disastrous in name as well as deed" laid waste the coast of Asia Minor as far as Sinope. (12)

Oleg was a conqueror's figure of the following type. He subjected all Slavic tribes, and when he had sufficiently consolidated his kingdom, he sailed, as the chronicles maintain, at the head of 80,000 men and 2000 boats to Byzantium, in order to extort a tribute from the Greek emperor. Not all of his warlike expeditions succeeded; the fleets of his followers were more than once destroyed by Greek fire. Prince Sviatoslav the Bold was "more a vagabond knight than the head of a state". Persistent wars led him from the Don to

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11. Grushevskyj: History of the Ukraine, page 46.

12. Ibid., page 67.

175 the Danube. He defeated the Khazar Kingdom, plundered the "White City" on the Volga, and in 968 set out with 60,000 warriors against the Bulgarians along the Danube. He was already preparing to engage them in a tremendous battle when the news reached him that Kiyev was being harrassed by the bloodthirsty Pecheneg hordes. Sviatoslav liberated his capital and returned to defeat the Bulgars and to plunder their chief city of Prislav. "It almost looked as though a mighty Slavic empire was to arise from Novgorod to the very gates of Byzantium." (13) Byzantium was well aware of this danger; it gathered all its forces and defeated the Viking who had grown used to victory. On his way back to Kiyev he ended his life under the saber blows of the Pecheneg.

The states of these Kiyev princes were loose structures. The military forces were divided into aggregates of tens, hundreds and thousands, and the king stood at their head. His retainers were regarded as associates, not servants. Whenever they pleased, they could leave their king and follow /27/ another. There were plenty of principalities, for they were occasionally divided after the death of the ruler. But Kiyev always remained the chief principality to which all the partial principalities were subject. The rights of the ancient people's assemblies of the Slavs in part passed over to the princes in the course of time. In the government the council of boyars supported them. Slavs and Vikings swore allegiance to one and the same prince - the former by the god Perun, the others by Thor. The administration of the prince's court was at the same time that of the principality; it was not unusual that the ruler and his followers personally levied the tribute.

13. Reeb: Russian History.

Joint military campaigns and marauding expeditions and the power of the grand-princes was what constituted the cement which held together the many principalities of the Kiyev Kingdom.

Vladimir, whom history has surnamed "the Great", a contemporary of Otto the Great, was not only a fearless general, but also a wise, farseeing statesman. The weakness of this kingdom which he conquered only by means of fratricidal war, was clear to him. Thus it seemed that the adoption of Christianity might prove a strong unifying tie between the ofttimes divergent, warring factions. Statesmanly insight persuaded Vladimir to adopt the Greek Orthodox, Byzantine form of Christianity. The papal legates of Rome tried in vain to win Vladimir over to the Roman Catholic faith. Byzantium was nearer, easier to reach, and there existed old, albeit often hostile, relations with it. For a baptismal present, as it were, the grand-prince obtained the hand of the Byzantine princess, a near relative of and from the same house as, Princess Theophano who was wedded to Emperor Otto II.

The adoption of Byzantine Christianity was one of those great historical events whose import could not have been foreseen at the moment when it was accomplished. /28/ Thus this decision of Vladimir was to influence East European history in the most enduring manner up to this very day. As a result of it, all of east Europe, with the exception of Poland, entered into the Byzantine cultural orbit. A country whose population as such bears a certain leaning toward passivity was joined to a cultural sphere which had already become rigid with formal doctrine. This world was on the way toward decline, whereas the West Roman world still awaited its flowering. In this way the east of Europe was to assume a position of great disadvantage as against the West.

The most immediate result of the adoption of Eastern Christianity was the transmission of

175 this Byzantine culture which was far superior to that of Kiyev, to the far-flung kingdom of the Rus'. For a good 200 years Byzantine knowledge, literature and art, as well as commercial goods were carried north. Bulgarian monks and teachers came, bidden and unbidden, into the country and taught reading and writing in the monastery schools. The learned documents they brought, spiritual essays, edifying sermons, historical treatises and geographical descriptions, exerted a great influence on their students. Greek master builders "brought architecture into the land which had seen its greatest accomplishment in fortifications by means of embankments". The chief attribute of the intellectual life of that time was the aversion toward Christian ideas and customs. If the adoption of Christianity was already very halting among the higher classes, the country people continued to worship their heathen gods to whom they offered sacrifices in forest and meadow, along streams and swamps. People did not want to renounce old customs, such as the freedom of love and marriage.

The kingdom of Kiyev reached its greatest efflorescence under Iaroslav the Wise, a son of Vladimir the Great. Both grand-princes were obliged to maintain their position and that of their kingdom by means of constant wars, and both succeeded at the same time in expanding their territory. Iaroslav, even more than Vladimir, built schools, monasteries and magnificent churches. Under /29/ his rule an exact copy of Hagia Sophia was built on the Dniepr by Greek architects. The type of church edifice with a triple nave and a central cupola made its triumphal entry into East Europe. Adam von Bremen called the Kiyev of Iaroslav "a rival of Constantinople". No less than 400 churches and numerous monasteries, proud edifices, decorated at that time the "Rome of the East".

The race of Kiyev Rurikians was so esteemed

175 that it was possible for them to fetch their wives from all the royal houses of Europe and to marr their daughters into these houses. Anna, the daughter of Iaroslav the Wise married Henry I, King of France. When he died she reigned until her son, Philipp I, came of age. Iaroslav's second daughter Elisaveta married King Harald Haardraade of Norway, and he himself had Ingegerd, the daughter of King Olaf Skótunung of Sweden as his spouse. Emperor Henry IV chose Evpraksia, the sister of Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh, as his wife. The kings of Hungary, of Poland, of Denmark, of Norway, of Sweden, of Bulgaria and the emperors of Byzantium wooed women of the Kiyev court.

Within Iaroslav's kingdom there reigned a state of prosperity and freedom which was easily comparable to conditions in the western countries. A decree issued by the Grand Prince himself, the famous "right of the Rus", guaranteed lawful peace throughout the land. The nucleus of the population consisted of independent peasants who plowed their own land and slept in their own huts of loam or wood. Legally they were equal to the boyars. They planted wheat, oats, rye, barley, millet, peas, poppies and flax and gathered honey in the woods. They were not unfamiliar with domestic poultry. Besides that there were day laborers and peasants without land who were nevertheless free. Handicrafts reached a state of excellence which was to be sought for in vain 900 years later. In the few cities of the Kiyev Kingdom the boyars set the fashion. As wealthy landowners or merchants, /30/ they shipped grain, honey, wax, hemp, skins, amber and similar things on the Dniepr to Constantinople and imported precious fabrics, spices, wine and other rare items. They carried on a lively trade with Regensburg where they had their own settlement, with the Transcaspian cities and the Varangian country. Half merchants, half warriors, they also did not scorn the profit of occasional marauding expeditions - slaves were at that time a desirable item. Kiyev resembled a huge fair. The forest dwellers in the north built boats in the winter which, as soon as the rivers were free of ice, they took to Kiyev and sold to the merchants. Goods arrived ceaselessly from Smolensk, Novgorod and Lyubech and from other directions, only to be carried each year in June from Kiyev to Constantinople "in well-armed formations of ships along the coast of the Black Sea".

The life of the free citizens of the Kiyev Rus seems to have been an altogether tolerable one. Jolly festivals with long-drawn-out feasts were not rare, and it is said of Vladimir the Saintly One that he was a great tippler. In spite of the adoption of Christianity, no one wanted to renounce such tried and true customs as the ritualistic drinking bouts, especially at festivals in commemoration of the dead where people settled down on the grave of their dearest and there happily consumed around twenty jugs of beer or mead. The tax collectors, at that time still princely agents, led a wonderful life. Their provisions for the day consisted of: "A loaf of bread daily, millet and peas for the making of porridge, cheese, two chickens, a small lump of salt; a calf and a bucketful of malt for beer on Sunday; on fast-days a fish instead of meat." (14)

14. Grushevskyj: History of the Ukraine, page 45.

An unfortunate law of inheritance was only one reason, but a very important one, for the downfall of the Kiyev Kingdom which began after Iaroslav's death in 1054. According to the existing practice of seniority succession, each of the brothers of the Grand-Prince and each of his sons was heir apparent to the highest rank. The Grand-Prince in turn ruled over the parts principalities that were being vacated. /31/ If one man

man moved up, many others moved with him. The higher the prince stood in rank, the more comprehensive was the change in the princely seats. The princes divided up their domain in order to make it possible for their sons to live as befitted their rank, and this in later times caused many principalities to be no larger than rather imposing hereditary estates. The only favorable thing about it was that the small princes were obliged to establish princely residences, in other words, to found small cities along with warriors, merchants and monks.

Iaroslav's total lands were split up into six autonomous territorial formations. Inasmuch as each change of grand-princes was accompanied by violent struggles for seniority, the chain of eternal feuds was never broken. From then on the history of the Rus of Kiyev was a chronicle of princely fraternal struggles, as a result of which the cities and the open countryside were made to suffer greatly. During the two centuries between Iaroslav's death and the downfall of Kiyev, there arose and fell "64 principalities, 83 civil wars ravaged the country, 293 princes engaged in a struggle for Kiyev during this time." (15)

15. Reeb: *History of the Ukraine*, page 22.

Once again, before the Kiyev Rus, outrageously weakened by fratricidal strife, internal dissention, indifference of the Church, passivity of the citizens, went under with the first great assault from without, a superior figure of a prince appeared. It was Vladimir Monomakh, the last grand-prince of Kiyev who succeeded in holding the local princes under control. He was highly esteemed. Once again splendid churches and monasteries were built, once again the country experienced a late cultural flowering. Monamakh himself is a famous writer; his "Precepts to my

Children" exert an important influence on the public. But Monomakh is also a general.

Again the swift horses of hostile hordes appear before the walls and palisades of Kiyev. Wherever there is no high grass on the steppes for protection, they break through the midst of the grain fields. They belong to the Polovtsi, also called Kuman, who, no less warlike and greedy for spoils /32/ than the Pecheneg, roam through the land. Since the time of Sviatoslav when the Pecheneg had invaded the country, driven the farmers from the Pontic Steppe and destroyed entire Ukrainian tribes, the land lay devastated almost up to Kiyev. Vladimir had had long walls, palisades and wooden towers coated with loam, built to protect the boundary. The Pecheneg and after them the Turks were repeatedly defeated by the princes and thrown back across the Danube. But like a magnet to iron, the fertile steppe with its spicy herbs attracted the vast herds of peoples who drank sheep and mare's milk and tenderized their mutton by carrying it under their saddles.

The Polovtsi, greedy for spoils, had crossed the Danube and invaded the country after the Turks, venturing upon the Kiyev of Monomakh and the princely city of Pereiaslav. Thereupon Monomakh united the rulers of the southern principalities in a military expedition against the wanton horde. The Polovtsi suffered a serious defeat. He also waged war against the Circassians and the rest of the Pecheneg. In his "Precepts" the Grand-Prince gives the following report of his combats to his sons: "I have waged 83 battles, I have signed 19 peace treaties with the Polovtsi, captured at least 100 of their princes whom I again liberated, and killed more than 200 of them by having them thrown into the river." The same Monomakh warns his sons: "Do not forget the poor, be a father to orphans! Always strive to learn, that is a wonderful thing! My father spoke five languages." (16)

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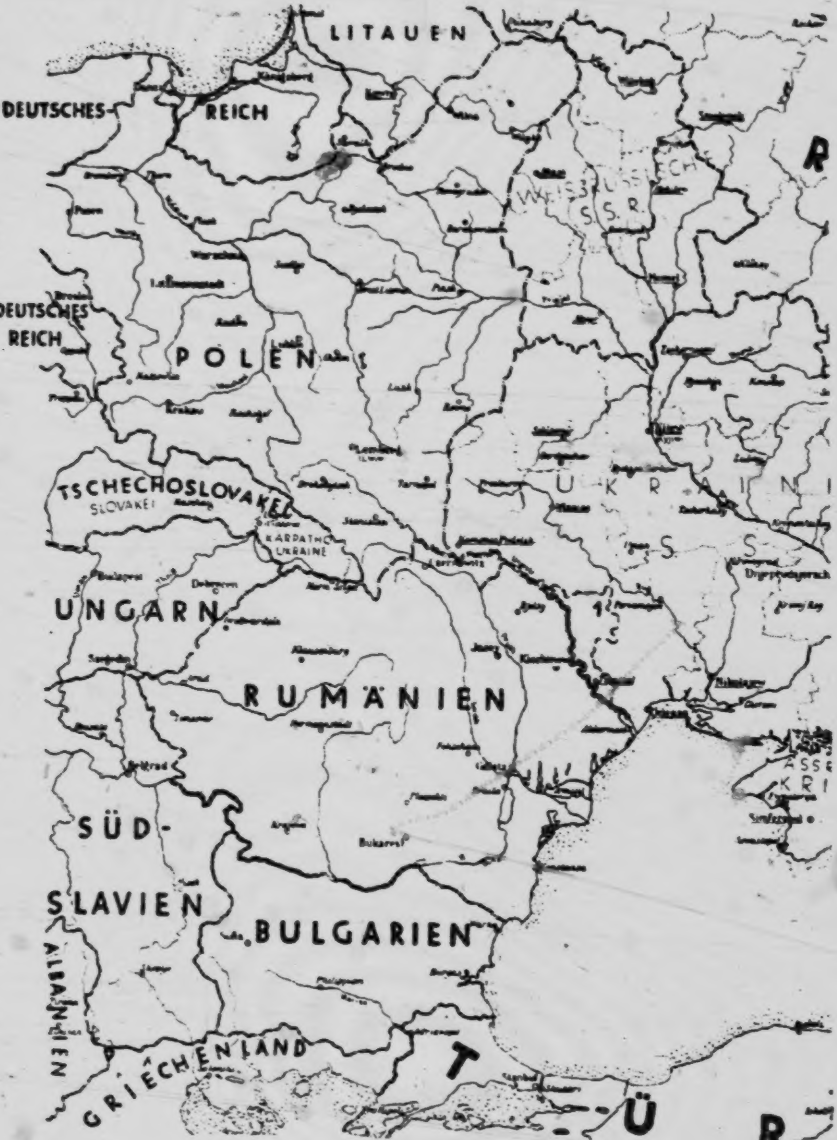
16. Tisserand R.L.: The Ukraine, Life of a People.

175 The wars which broke out among the local
princes after Monomakh's death belong to the
darkest chapter in the history of the Kiyev Rus.
Actually the kingdom ceased to exist. Nothing
remained to hold it together, neither dynastic
ties nor marauding expeditions, nor the church,
which was powerless. For 35 years, from 1146 to
1181 there were ceaseless struggles for the throne
728 of Kiyev, and an almost /Facing page 32/ /Map 1:
631 Ukraine at the beginning of the year 1938. The
Ukraine was divided between four states as a result
of the Peace of Riga on March 18, 1921 between
the Soviet Union and Poland, the transfer
of Bessarabia to Rumania, and the edicts of St.
Germain and Trianon. In the west Poland was given
West Ukraine (Galicia and Volhynia), Carpatho-Ukraine
passed from Hungary to Czechoslovakia,
small parts of Carpatho-Ukraine, Bukovina and
Bessarabia went to Rumania, while the major portion
of Ukraine was left to the Soviet Union which established
the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic
on one part of Ukrainian national soil./ /Keys to
the map: -.-.-. state boundaries, ——boundaries
of the Soviet Republics, ---boundaries of the autonomous
Soviet Republics, -..-..- boundaries of
the autonomous territories, ... boundaries of the
territories (oblasts), administration centers underlined./
175 /33/ uninterrupted war was waged for
sovereignty within the leading principality. The
princes of Suzdal in the north waged the most bitter
and brutal fight of all for supremacy. They whose
descendants are to become the princes of Moscow do
not shrink from an alliance with the khans of
Polovtsi against Kiyev. More than once these hordes
devastated the unfortunate country. Finally in
1155 Georgii Dolgorukov, Prince of Suzdal, was
victorious over Kiyev, and fourteen years later the
splendor of this city which had not seen its equal
throughout eastern Europe melts away in the flare
of Suzdal-Polovtsi pillage. (17)

17. Grushevskyj: History of the Ukraine, page 91.


LITAUEN
DEUTSCHES-REICH
R
WEISSRUSSISCHE
S.S.R.
DEUTSCHES REICH
POLEN
TSCHECHOSLOVAKEI
SLOVAKEI
KARPATHO UKRAINE
U K R A I N I
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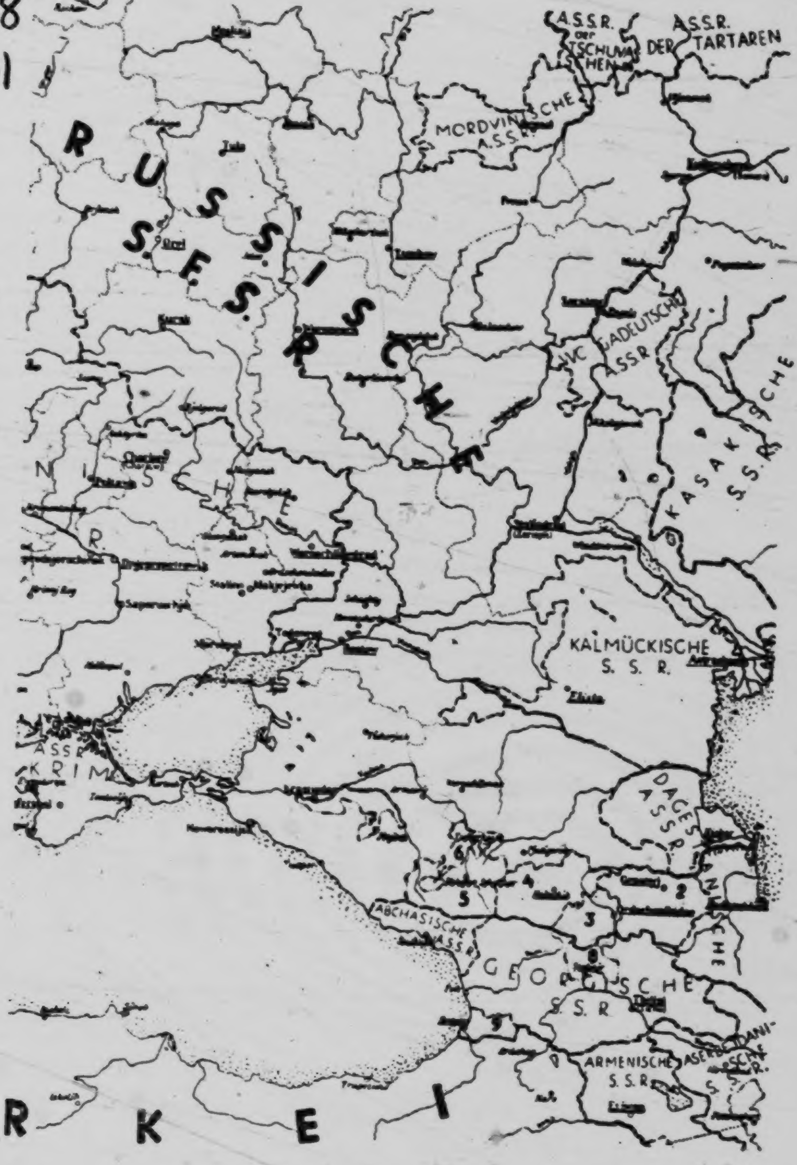
UNGARN
RUMÄNIEN
ASS
KRI
SÜD-
SLAVIEN
BULGARIEN
ALBANIEN
GRIECHENLAND
T Ü R

[Map I: Ukraine at the beginning of the year 1938, cf. complete legend P. 30]

11: Obermaier--30B J3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

728
631


RUSSISCHE S.F.S.R.
A.S.S.R. der TSCHUWASCHEN
A.S.S.R. DER TARTAREN
MORDVINISCHE A.S.S.R.
WOLGADEUTSCHE A.S.S.R.
KASAKISCHE S.S.R.
KALMÜCKISCHE S.S.R.
DAGESTAN A.S.S.R.
ASSR KRIM
ABCHASISCHE A.S.S.R.
GEORGISCHE S.S.R
ARMENISCHE S.S.R.
ASERBEDSCHANISCHE S.S.R.
R K E I
Kursk
Orel
Tula
Stalino
Saporoshje
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8
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[MAP 2 UKRAINE at the BEGINNING of the year 1938]

11: Obermaier--31 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

175

It is Nestor's chronicle, the oldest literary monument of the Ukrainian people, which tells us about the Rus of Kiyev. It was written by many monks but bears the name of Brother Nestor, a contemporary of Monomakh. The three chronicles from which he obtained his knowledge of earlier events within the kingdom have been lost. Preserved to us, besides the Nestor chronicle, is the lofty "Song of Igor's Expedition", the Nieblungenlied of the Ukrainians and their first patriotic song. It narrates in extremely poetic form the military expedition of the Novgorod prince Igor Sviatoslavovich against the Polovtsi. Heaven and earth and animals and the entire animate world take part in the battle which is narrated quite in the spirit of the Nordic epics.

Scarcely was this beautiful song ended when in the east peoples began swarming in "of whom it was not known whither they came and what gods they worshiped". Jenghis Khan was their emperor and Mongolia their homeland, the same Jenghis Khan who had said to his son when the latter wanted to grant mercy to a city: "Compassion is proof of a weak character." His hordes coming from Persia conquered the northern Caucasian and Crimean countries in 1222. When the Polovtsi learned of the approaching mighty army from their scouts and from captured Tatar, they called upon the princes of Halicz (Galicia), Kiyev and Chernigov for help. The entire militia of the southern /34/ principalities were called out in order to stave off the impending danger. The armies clashed at the Kalka, on the Sea of Azov, where the 100,000 Tatar of the Mongolian emperor annihilated the flower of the Ukrainian people. "The heads of the Rus fell under the sabers of the Tatar like stalks on the field under the sickle." (18)

18. Reeb: History of the Ukraine, page 14.

175 Vae victis! Mountains of corpses, burning villages and cities, smoldering ruins, - these were the tracks left by the Tatar on the march to Moscow, Vladimir and Suzdal. In 1240 Kiyev is overtaken by the same fate; the men and women of the free Rus are dragged to the Asiatic slave markets.

/35/

Poland Colonized

To be one's own master or to be a slave: that is the fate of peoples! Poles, Lithuanians and Tatar are now the ones who, for four hundred years after the fall of Kiyev, determine what is right and what is criminal in the Ukrainian countries. Kiyev Rus sinks to the lowest level; its principalities become provinces of Poland, Lithuania and the Tatar tent city on the Volga, while the inhabitants become serfs.

It sounds ironical that at the moment when the wings of a dire fate already cast their shadow over the Ukraine, a member of the Rurik dynasty should adorn himself with a king's crown. Danilo Romanovich, grand-prince of Halicz-Volhynia, in 1253 receives the crown from the hands of the legates of Innocence IV.

Under his predecessors the principality extended from the mouth of the Danube up to San, a tributary of the Vistula, and since 1199 as far as Volhynia. But this imposing kingdom was internally dismembered. It even happened that princes and aristocrats hanged one another. "In the character of this aristocracy there is a streak of anarchism which expresses itself in a tendency to unbridled despotism, in imperiousness and lack of consideration toward subjects, in rebelliousness and treason against the princes, along with servile forms of social intercourse, all of which was bound to bring misfortune to any kingdom." (19) Danilo also

19. Kaindl, R.F.: Poland, page 64 and 65.

175 fought against these insubordinate boyars. To break down their defiance, entire cities with all their inhabitants are destroyed. Ambitious Danilo has far-flung plans. He, the tributary prince of the Tatar khan in Sarai on the /35/ Volga, who has a king's crown from the papal city on the Tiber, wants to stretch out his hand to Kiyev, in spite of the fact that his plans of a crusade against the Tatar failed, and that only legates in cowls came instead of well-armed warriors. The khans, however, had long since seen through him; at their command he was obliged to burn down his own fortifications in 1259. Poisoned by the boyars, Danilo dies, and with him ends the Rurik dynasty of Halicz, exactly one hundred years after the destruction of Kiyev.

The history of the Ukraine, the territory on the border*, as the southern regions of the Kiyev Rus began to be called, is from now on for long periods a history of its bondage. Foreign peoples dictate its laws. The country is completely exhausted as a result of the eternal wars of the

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[103] *The name "Ukraine", meaning "borderland", appears for the first time in the chronicle of Nestor, which tells of a prince of Pereiaslav who is killed in 1187 in a battle with the nomads. The chronicle reported that "the Ukraine mourned him a great deal". In the year 1198 there is mention of a "Galician Ukraine" on the Polish border, and in 1215 of a "Ukraine" near Brest Litovsk. In the ceaseless wars of the principalities of the Rus', the various border countries gradually shrink to a single frontier country, the "Ukraine". This name which bears witness to the life of constant danger in these regions, is also in the course of time applied to the indigenous population.

175

princes and the devastations of the Tatar expeditions. Fortunately, the Mongols are milder rulers than the princes and the Poles. After they have subjected the Ukrainians, they are content with tributes in the form of young women, grain and cattle, and for the rest do not interfere with the affairs of the former principalities which have been split up into numerous communities. The people of the Ukraine are tired of eternal wars, and loosen the bonds toward their rulers wherever possible. They have had enough of compulsory labor; they would rather plow the land for wheat and millet for the Tatar.

The hunger for land of the Polish szlachta - aristocrats -, the greed for spoils of the heathen forest princes of Lithuania, /37/ and the rapacity of the newly-emerging Crimean Tatar after the destruction of the Golden Horde of Sarai, - these are the historical forces which the Ukrainian people are to feel during these centuries.

After the death by poison of the last member of the Rurik dynasty at Halicz-Volhynia, the glistening silvery Black Sea is already mirrored in the covetous Polish eyes. The Moldavian principality between the lower course of the Danube and the Dniestr, is a vassal state of Halicz-Volhynia. Casimir the Great now occupies Halicz and Lubart of Lithuania from the dynasty of Gedymin occupies Volhynia. The Lithuanians are more successful than the Poles in gathering up what was left behind by the Kiyev Rus. After they have defeated the Golden Horde in 1362 at the Blue Waters, the way to Kiyev and into the Dniestr basin lies open to them. The discipline and order which the new masters introduce into the resurrected principalities are weak, but at any rate they are better than the former anarchy. Like the khans of Sarai, the grand-princes of Lithuania are also gentle masters, and the subject principalities are given a sort of national autonomy, frequently under the rule of the old families.

175 But the most amazing thing is the triumph of the olf Kiyev culture at the heathen court of the Gedymins. The grand-prince and his retinue speak the language of the Rus, take over their laws and in most cases even their Greek-Orthodox faith. The influence of the culture of the Rus at the Lithuanian court, as exercised by the Ukrainian princes and scholars, makes it seem not impossible that, under the leadership of the energetic Gedymin, the Kingdom of Kiyev might rise again.

But the ambition and vanity of Grand-Prince Iagailo is fateful for the Ukrainians. Deluded by the deceptive splendor of the Polish throne, he signs the blood alliance in 1385 and hands Lithuania and the Ukraine over to Polish despotism. The conditions imposed by the Polish szlachta are beyond all measure. In order to obtain the hand of the /38/ fifteen-year-old Polish queen Jadwiga, Iagailo is obliged to have himself and his people baptized in the Catholic faith and to promise to reconquer Poland's lost countries at his own expense, to guard and respect the privileges of the aristocracy, to release all Polish prisoners, to pay 200,000 guldens forfeit, and, above all, "to unite all his Lithuanian and Russian lands with Poland for all time." (20) Lithuania, White Russia, Black Russia and the Ukraine - at that time a territory three times as large as Poland - is debased to the status of a province of Cracow by the signature of the prince who was seized by Polish megalomania.

Iagailo's resolve was a decision against the Ukraine.

It is now all over with Ukrainian influence at the court of the Gedymin. The personal union, the identity of the person of the grand-prince of Lithuania and the king of Poland was to be of far-reaching significance for all of eastern Europe.

20. Brandenburger: Polish History, page 37.

175 But the Iagailo family were not to lead the Poles to the Black Sea, but into the Bohemian cauldron, and while they were holding court in Prague on the Vitava, the Turks entrenched themselves north of the Danubian estuary in the principality of Moldvia, only to afford from there a constant threat to the Poles. The rise of the Muscovite princes was to be of even greater significance. While the Iagailo family ruled in Prague and Cracow, these princes laid the foundations of a kingdom that in the end was to devour them all, the Lithuanians, the Poles and the Ukrainians. Moscow united the North Russian principalities in the Kingdom of Muscovy and shook off the Tatar yoke. Ivan III conferred upon himself the name "Czar of all the Russians" and thus formulated Moscow's claim to all "Russian" countries for the first time.

The extinction of the Iagailo dynasty at last gave Polish nobility the opportunity to annex the Lithuanian and East Ukrainian countries altogether. They met at Lublin in 1569, three years before the death of the last member of the Iagailo family, in order to receive the application given to their Ukrainian and /39/ Lithuanian mercenaries for the annexation of these countries. Since the Lithuanians, meanwhile, failed to come, their country was, in contumatiam, placed into the arms of Poland, while the Ukrainians signed the alliance. What booty for the impoverished Polish szlachta, for whom the gates of the Ukrainian provinces, which had in part still stood under Lithuanian dominion, now opened wide! In endless hords these debt-ridden panowie, accustomed to living from the proceeds of the labor of others and to regarding everything Ukrainian with condescension, journeyed beyond the Dniepr. They begged for land from the king, seized offices and positions and on flimsy pretexts snatched huge pieces of land from the Ukrainian aristocracy.(21)

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21. Grushevskyj: History of the Ukraine, page 193.

The Ukraine is "blessed" with the culture of Polish aristocracy. Polish law is enforced first of all in Galicia and, with the advance of Polish rule, also in the remaining territories. The Polish nobility culture - this means the greatest distinction between the two strata of society, the szlachta and the common people; it means omnipotent nobility and impotent peasantry, deprived of rights. In Galicia this culture begins with the introduction of one-day service to the master. At first compulsory labor is required only a few days during the year, then one day a week, two days, finally every day. And still more is squeezed out of the unfortunate ones, for the master's life in Warsaw and Carcow costs a great deal of money. Toward the end of this development the peasant is nothing more than a work horse on the estate of the squire, at whose mercy he stands together with his family. "The Poles and the natives who have become Poles seize all power and might, all proceeds, all land. The native Ukrainian population is forced into a position of complete servitude, is converted into a thoroughly impoverished, deeply humiliated and despised mass of slaves and drudges of the Poles, divested of everything. Their culture and religion, their judiciary and economic life are brought to a state of complete ruin /40/ by this Polish rule." (22) The despotism of the Polish starosta (elder) and his friends prevails in the cities. All positions are closed to non-Catholics, that is to say, to the Greek-Orthodox Ukrainians.

In this state of deepest affliction the marvelous power of the spirit is revealed. Vladimir's faith and scanty remnants of Byzantine culture separated the Ukrainians from the Poles, from Polish-Latin culture. "The faith of the fathers formed the elementary, albeit unconscious substructure of

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22. Ibid, page 180.

national sentiment." (23) The Jesuits worked hard to combat the Reformation in Poland. They erected schools and raised considerably the general level of education. Many Ukrainian gentlemen, enticed by superior Jesuit knowledge and the privileges of Catholic Polish nobility, adopted the Roman faith. But the people stubbornly clung to their religion. Then, in the period of greatest national danger, there developed the brotherhoods among the commoners of the cities. They founded schools, built churches and in this way, together with individual noblemen who had remained faithful to their people, they laid the foundation for a Ukrainian renascence. The contact of Byzantine-Ukrainian culture with that of Roman-Polish also showed its good sides: the Ukrainians learned from the Jesuits. The first Ukrainian books appeared, but were immediately banned by the Polish clergy. In his princely residence of Ostrog in Volhynia, Prince Constantin Ostrozhskyj set up the first printing press.

Nevertheless, the Poles and Jesuits and those bishops who had been placed by them in the vacated orthodox sinecures, did not give up their plans of uniting the Orthodox Church with the Roman-Catholic Church. Actually they succeeded in winning over a number of Ukrainian bishops to the Union which was agreed upon in Brest Litowsk in 1595. "But when, in the following year, a new synod of Brest Litovsk was supposed to ratify the union, Jesuit zeal which did not want any special position, and the selfishness and arrogance /Facing page 40/ /Map II: The Ukraine in the 11th to the 13th centuries. The independent Kiyev Kingdom at the height of the Middle Ages with its local principalities in the period before its destruction by the Mongol-Tatar invasion./ /Key inside map: -o-o-o National boundary. ......Boundaries of the

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23. Zalotzieckyj: The Spiritual Life of The Ukraine, page 45.

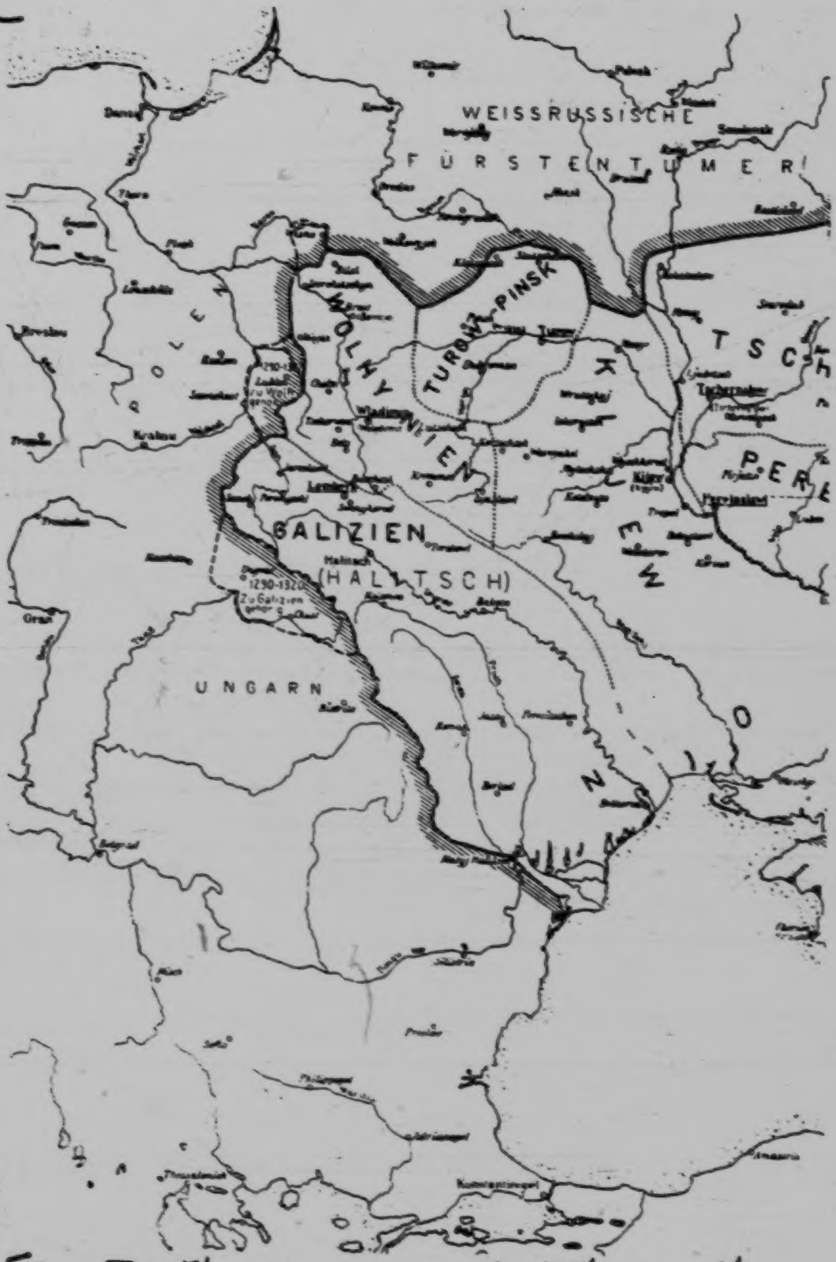
principalities. ------Boundaries of the temporary annexations./ /41/ of the Roman prelates, who opposed the admission of the Greek bishops into the Senate, spoiled everything. Two parties were formed which excommunicated each other." (24)

24. Brandenburger: *Polish History*, page 72.

Indignant, the princes of the Church departed, and the tension between their camps was discharged in violent polemical treatises. Against every attempt to win them over by force to the fold of the supreme Roman shepherd, the Ukrainian populace offered stubborn resistance. A fresh breeze blew through the Byzantine churches and monasteries and swept away the despairing mood of penitence.

*

Between 1250 and about 1500 whole swarms of Jews immigrated into Poland and Galicia. They came from Spain and France, from Germany and Holland and later also from Italy. At the time when in Brest Litovsk the bishops were consigning each other to hell, the haughty Polish magnates were already deep in Jewish debt. Jews were the bankers of royal marriages and of warriors. Wholesale trade was predominately in their hands, and there was a large class of Jewish tenant farmers with their quick profits, retail dealers and tradesmen. The Jews had, of course, assumed intimate connections from the beginning, "With the higher nobility as well as with the king, on the basis of credits, rents, and so forth. But the more the gentry retired from the management of their estates, in order, in their feeling of liberty, to carry on politics on a grand scale in the provincial and national diets and in the confederations, or to lead a life of enjoyment..., the more money they naturally required for all these purposes. Only the Jew was capable of providing


WEISSRUSSISCHE
FÜRSTENTÜMER
TUROW-PINSK
WOLHYNIEN
POLEN
GALIZIEN
(HALYTSCH)
1290-1320 Zu Galizien gehörig
Lemberg
Halitsch
Wladimir
Krakau
Kijew
Perejaslawl
Tschernigow
KIEWER
TSCH
PERE
UNGARN
Konstantinopel

[Map II: The Ukraine in the 11th to 13th centuries, cf. complete legend pp. 38-39]

11: Obermaier--39B J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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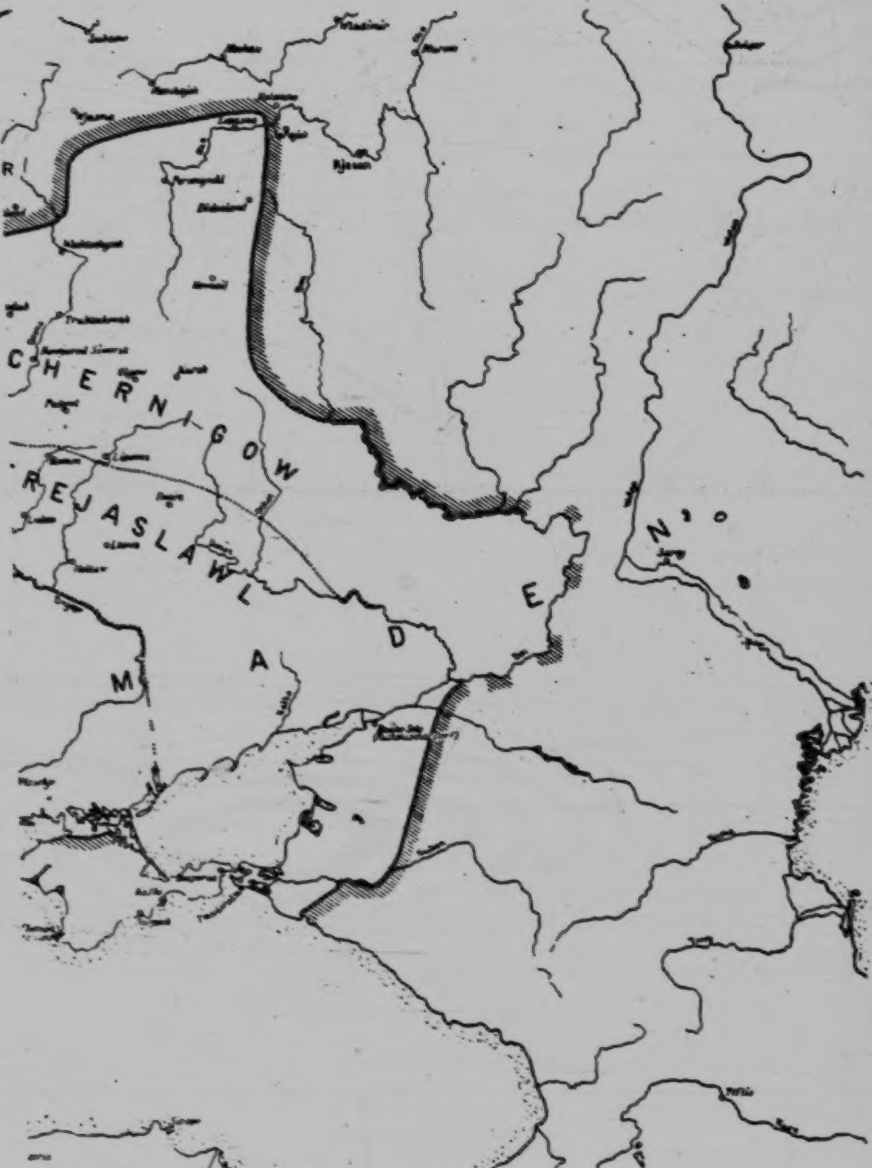
Wladimir
Rjasan
R
CHERNIGOW
PEREJASLAWL
M
A
D
E
N
N
O

[Map II the Ukraine in the 11th to 13th (centuries)

RD1
Cossacks RD2

U 175 this money, and thus he became the creditor but at the same time, in order to protect himself, the administrator of the large as well as the small estates of the gentry." (25) There was scarcely an estate without a Jewish manager. The Jews migrated from the city to the country as administrators, innkeepers, /42/ tenant farmers, tax collectors and even as colonizing promoters in order to entice new farmers into the depopulated regions. The more money the gentlemen needed, the more the Jew wrested from the peasant serfs. Whatever amount was above that which was demanded by the lord of the manor, disappeared into the Jew's pocket.

These were the social, cultural and religious conditions at the beginning of the new era, the era of the Republic.

/43/ The Republic of the Steppes

C. 648 "Theodatus Chmielnicki, Dei gratia generalissimus ecclesiae Graecorum, imperator omnium Cosacorum zaporoviensum, terror et extirpator nobilitatis Poloniae fortalitiorumque expugnator, exterminator sacerdotum romanorum, persecutor ethnicorum, Anti-Christi et Judaeorum", which translated means: "Theodatus Chmielnicki, by the grace of God head of the Greek Church, emperor of all the Zaporogian Cossacks, terror and extirpator of the Polish nobility and conqueror of their fortifications, destroyer of the Roman clergy, persecutor of heathen, the anti-Christ and Jews." (26)

Cromwell was the one who sent the document

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25. Seraphim: The Jewry in the East European Area, page 45ff.

26. Borshchak: The Ukraine in Western Literature, page 309.

648 which bore the above address to the hetman of the
Cossacks Bogdan Chmielnicki. It was the wish of
the English Puritan that the emperor of all the
Cossacks should assist him in combating the
Roman Church. (27) Unfortunately, we do not know
487 Chmielnicki's answer. But we do know that the
route of the English couriers[2] led through the
621 "wild field", the steppe, along the Dniepr. Below
the thundering rapids where the mighty stream
seems to lose itself in numerous branches, on a
swampy island difficult of access, behind an impenetrable
wilderness of reeds and woods, the
princely residence, the sech of the Cossack
621 hetman lay hidden. In Taras Bulba, Nikolai
Gogol describes the life that went on there.
When the old Cossack and his two sons arrived at
the sech "they were deafened by the rumble of 50
blacksmith's hammers pounding the anvils of 25
half subterranean, sod-covered smithies. On the
street under its projecting roofs sat powerful
tanners /44/ smoothing ox skins with their calloused
fists; shopkeepers stood in the shelter
of their tents with piles of steel, flint and
powder; an Armenian was spreading out costly
fabrics; a Tatar was turning a lamb on the spit;
with bent head a Jew was drawing horilka from a
cask. But what attracted their attention most of
all was the sight of a Zaporogian asleep in the
middle of the street, arms and legs spread out
wide...His mop of hair, proudly tossed back,
covered half an ell of the ground, his trousers of
beautiful red cloth were smeared with tar, so
that all the world might see how little he cared
about them. After he had inspected him closely,
Bulba continued on his way through a narrow street
filled with artisans of all kinds and with people
of all races. This suburb resembled a market
which fed and clothed the sech, for the latter knew

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27. Tisserand, *ibid*.

[2] [Sent to the Zaporogian cossacks —Analyst]

621 only how to drink and to shoot."

"At last they had the suburb behind them and saw several scattered houses of Cossacks, covered partly with sod, partly with felt after the Tatar manner. Cannons were set up in front of some of them. Nowhere were there fences to be seen or the small, low houses with projecting roofs on wooden piles, such as were to be seen in the suburb. A small bulwark and a barricade not guarded by anyone was sufficient proof of the incredible unconcern of the inhabitants. A few robust Zaporogians who lay about on the streets, their pipe in their mouths, looked at them rather indifferently and did not budge from the spot. Taras rode carefully in between them with his sons and said, 'Good day, Gentlemen!' - 'The same to you,' answered the Zaporogians. Everywhere they met picturesque groups of people. From the tanned faces of the Cossacks they could see that these men had often been under fire and were accustomed to dangers of all kinds. This is the sech! This is the nest from which they all fly, proud and strong as eagles. This is the place from which the invincible power of the Cossacks pours out
621 [702] 182 over all of the Ukraine." Inasmuch as the sech[1] did not like to lose time in /45/ military training, it brought up its youth in the dust of battle and "for this reason combats were ceaselessly renewed. The Cossacks found it boring to fill in the few periods of idleness with excercises other than target-shooting, horse races and hunting wild animals in the steppes and fields. All the rest of the time was devoted to entertainment, to the tavern and to dancing. The sech presented a curious spectacle. It was, so to speak, an uninterrupted drinking bout, a festival that began noisily and never ended. A few worked at some kind of handicraft, others ran stalls and carried on retail trade. But the great majority of the inhabitants drank and amused themselves from morning till night as long as their pockets still jingled and

[1] [Headquarters of the Zaporogian Cossacks on the Dnieper River - Analyst]

C
621 their share of spoils had not yet wandered into
the hands of shopkeepers and innkeepers. There was
182 something very tempting about these universal drinking bouts. The sech did not consist of a bunch of drunkards who were bent on drowning their sorrow in the bottle; it was a jolly, carefree company of men who lived from day to day in a mad delirium of joy. Everyone who came there forgot and threw off everything that ordinarily concerned him; for he enthusiastically gave himself up to carefree camaraderie with people, like himself, who had neither parents nor a home nor a family..., who did not own a thing except the free breath of heaven and an indestructible serenity of spirit."
C No woman was permitted to enter the sech.

Besides the Zaporogian Cossacks (Zaporogian
101 comes from "za porogamy" meaning "beyond the
182 rapids") on the fortified island in the Dniepr,
there were free Cossacks who lived on their farms scattered throughout the country, and these were by far in the majority. But in case of war or in general insurrection they appeared mounted and completely equipped at the place of assembly within a few days. When the campaign was ended, the warrior and farmer, whichever he chose to be, returned "to his meadows and fields /46/or to the banks of the Dniepr, spent his time fishing and trading, brewed beer and spirits and lived as a free Cossack...There was not a trade that he was not familiar with. He distilled spirits, built wagons, ground powder, was a forger and locksmith, and was above all adept at loafing, drinking and carousing as only the Slav knows how to be. No matter what he did, he was always in his element."

U
This description of the peaceable side of
136 Cossack life would be incomplete without a contemporary
C
account of the hunting grounds of the
136 Cossacks. "The Ukraine is so rich in wild game that avrochs, wild horses and deer are hunted only for their skins. Of their meat only the most suc-

Cossacks RD2

U 136 C 136

culent ribs and loins are used, everything else is discarded. The female deer and wild boar are not hunted at all. In winter roes and wild boars wander in large herds from the steppes into the forests, and in summer they return to the steppes. ...The bird world is so marvelously rich that in spring vast quantities of eggs and fledglings of wild ducks, wild geese, cranes and swans are gathered in. In spring such large schools of fish swim up the river that a spear thrown into the water comes to rest upright." (28)

28. Rudnytskyj: Ukrainians, the Country and the People, page 123.

U 175 C 178 621

This, then, was the kingdom of Chmielnicki, the Emperor of the Cossacks. As soon as the hordes of the Pecheneg and Polovtsi had driven the agricultural Ukrainian population out of the fertile South Ukrainian territory with scimitars and with fire, the first gangs of freebooters, fishermen and hunters from among the homeless banded together. On one of the more inaccessible islands of the Danube Delta a troop of no less than 6000 exiled Ukrainian farmers settled. There could scarcely be any question of their clinging to their native soil in regions where the farm population was obliged to withdraw into certain areas of swamps and virgin forests to avoid the constantly roving Asiatic nomads. For generations /47/ peasants ventured out into the open field only at the time of sowing and reaping. And in spite of that, millions of men, women and children fell victims to the "organized slave hunts" of these hordes.

C 621 642 182

Around the middle of the sixteenth century there developed small and later large militarily organized bands made up of homeless aristocratic and bourgeois refugees and the peasants who had escaped serfdom. As a result of a constant influx and integration, a regular army was formed which,

under the leadership of hetman Dmitro Visnievecki, 621
('hetman' comes from 'Hauptmann' and means commander- 642
in-chief of all troops) built a strong fortifi- 182
cation, the sech, on an island of the Dniepr. By
freeing from every other jurisdiction and supreme
power, from taxes and feudal services all those who
submitted to the power and legal authority of the
sech, the Cossacks declared themselves an independ-
ent power. It was the strangest state of modern
history which these people who were previously
outlawed and defenceless built for themselves here.
In this Republic of the Steppes[1] there was complete 642
freedom and equality of all warriors. The Gener- 643
al Assembly of Cossacks held supreme power within
the state. At this assembly they elected the head
of the state, the hetman who could at any time be
deposed. As his first official act he was obliged
to smear his face with mud, in order that he should
not consider himself a superior being as a result
of his election. In war, however, he was sole dic-
tator. His assistants were the otamans who were
also elected and who administered the individual
districts. The General Council consisted of the
hetman as the head of the government and army, the
otamans, the general secretary, the military judge
and a few other high officials. The cities which
belonged to the Cossack state were granted self-
administration after the manner of German munici-
pal law.

For the serfs the free Republic of the steppes[1]
had a great attraction, and they poured ceaselessly 178
into the kingdom of the Cossacks, became warriors 186
or domiciled farmers, /48/ or hired themselves
out on the farms of those who merrily caroused in
the sech. In everlasting wars against the "infid-
els", the Cossacks succeeded in gradually pushing
back the Asiatic brigands and making room for the
colonization of the steppes which now began. At
first the Polish kings encouraged the "association
of warriors" on their southeastern frontier; in
fact, they were even granted special privileges, in

[1] [i.e. the Zaporogian Cossacks - Analyst]

c 178 186 order to win over the audacious swashbucklers as allies in the wars with the sultans who were also their mortal enemies. For the Cossacks were proud of their Christian Greek-Orthodox faith, and were ready to die for it at any time. "Whoever is willing to be put on the rack for his Christian faith, to be quartered, to endure all kinds of tortures for the sacred cross, whoever does not fear death, let him follow us. You should not fear death; you cannot avoid it. This is the life of the Cossacks." (29) With these promising words they invited their troops to join the military campaign. And they all came.

C 726 181 648 Wild, death-defying daredevils were these Cossacks, typical landsknechts by nature who enjoyed combat for its own sake, who fought under the banner of "freedom and Christianity", who today have a skirmish with the heathen hordes and tomorrow with the Catholic Polish armies, and then again are willing to protect the Poles from their enemies. Twice within four years they saved the Polish army from destruction: in 1618 from a threatening Muscovite siege and in 1621 at Khotyn from the Ottoman army which, allegedly 300,000 lances strong, was ready to overrun Poland. Nevertheless, four years later the Cossacks once again matched their strength against the Poles.

c 726 648 The fame of the warriors of the sech spread to all lands. It was the time of the Thirty Years' War and brave riders were sought after in all camps. Pope Clement VIII had already sent messengers into the sech at the end of the sixteenth century, with the message that they "form an anti-Turkish
U 631 /Facing page 48/ /Map III: The Ukraine at the time
c 712

29. Puluy: *The Ukraine*, Prague, 1915, page 7, quoted from *Istoriia Vossoiedineniia Rus*. /History of the Unification of Russia/

11: Obermaier--47 J-3(no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1
Cossacks RD2

of the Union of Lublin (1569)/ /Key:-.-.-.- National boundaries. ------Boundary between Lithuania and Poland before 1569. ===== Boundary between Poland and Lithuania after 1569. ..... Boundaries of provinces. ++++ Western boundary of the Ukrainian voivodeship. ^ Regimental command of the registered Cossacks./ /49/ league" 1‸ (30) Emperor Rudolph II
U 631 C 712
C 726 648

30. Borshchak: The Ukraine in Western Literature, page 132.

likewise ordered couriers to be sent to the hetman to persuade him to fight against the Turks. (31)

31. Ukraine and the Church Union, page 26.

In 1620 the "Nieuwe Tijdinghe", a Dutch newspaper, prints the report that the Cossacks are fighting their way through Hungary and Moravia and have captured the city of Trenčin for the emperor; 4000 people were killed. (32) The fact that the

32. Borshchak: The Ukraine in Western Literature, page 140.

Cossacks fought on the side of the emperor in the first period of the Thirty Years' War is also confirmed by the English in the Calendar of State Papers 1910. A small Cossack division fought with Ferdinand II against the Protestants in the battle of Bila Hora (White Mountain). Again, Mazarin fetched himself a corps of Cossacks which, under the command of Chmielnicki and under the banners of Condé, even took part in the famous siege of Dunkirk. (33) Pierre Chevalier, the agent of the
C 726 648 181

33. Borshchak: The Ukraine in Western Literature, page 313.

French cardinal, tells us about it in his history
1‸ [Text resumes here — Analyst]

11: Obermaier--47A J3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1
Cossacks RD2

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c
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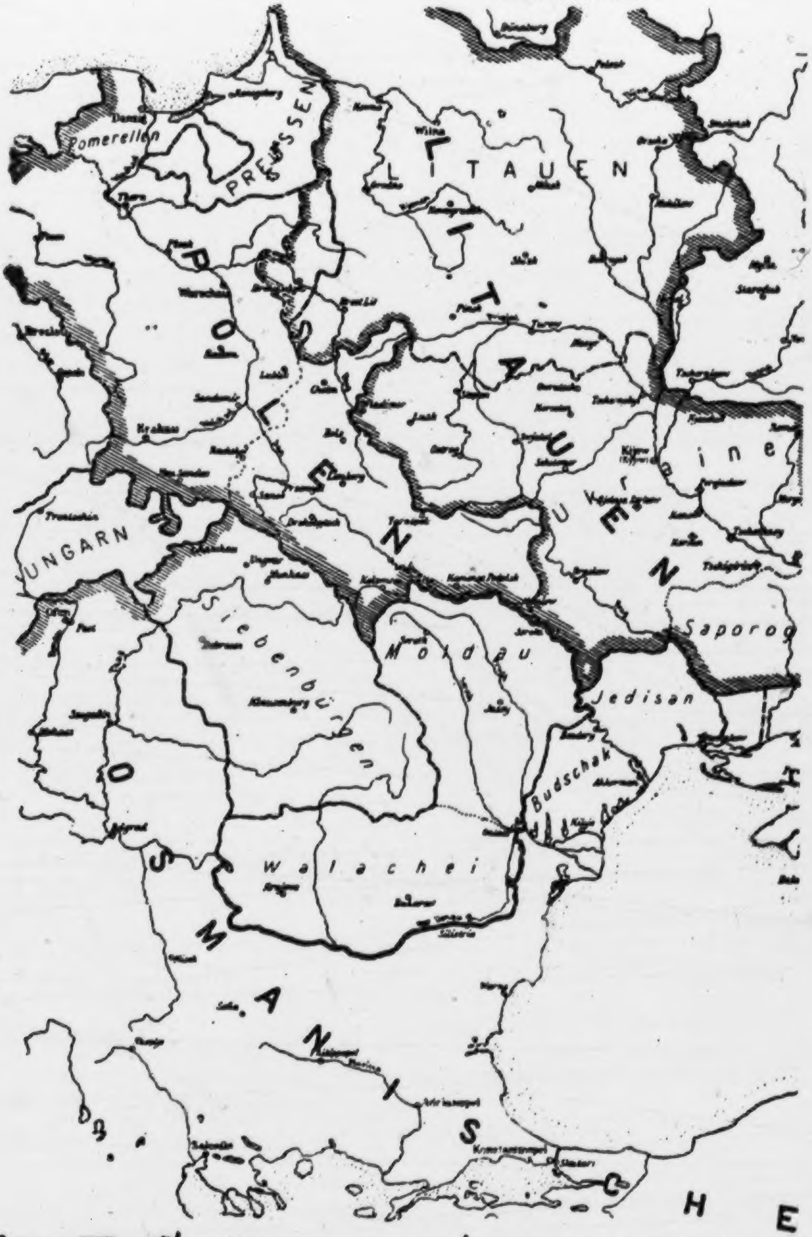
Pomerellen
Danzig
PREUSSEN
LITAUEN
Wilna
POLEN
Krakau
UNGARN
Siebenbürgen
Moldau
Ukraine
Saporog
Jedisan
Budschak
Walachei
OSMANISCHE

[Map III: The Ukraine at the time of the Union of Lublin (1569), cf. complete Legend pp. 46-47]

11: Obermaier--47B J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1
Cossacks RD2

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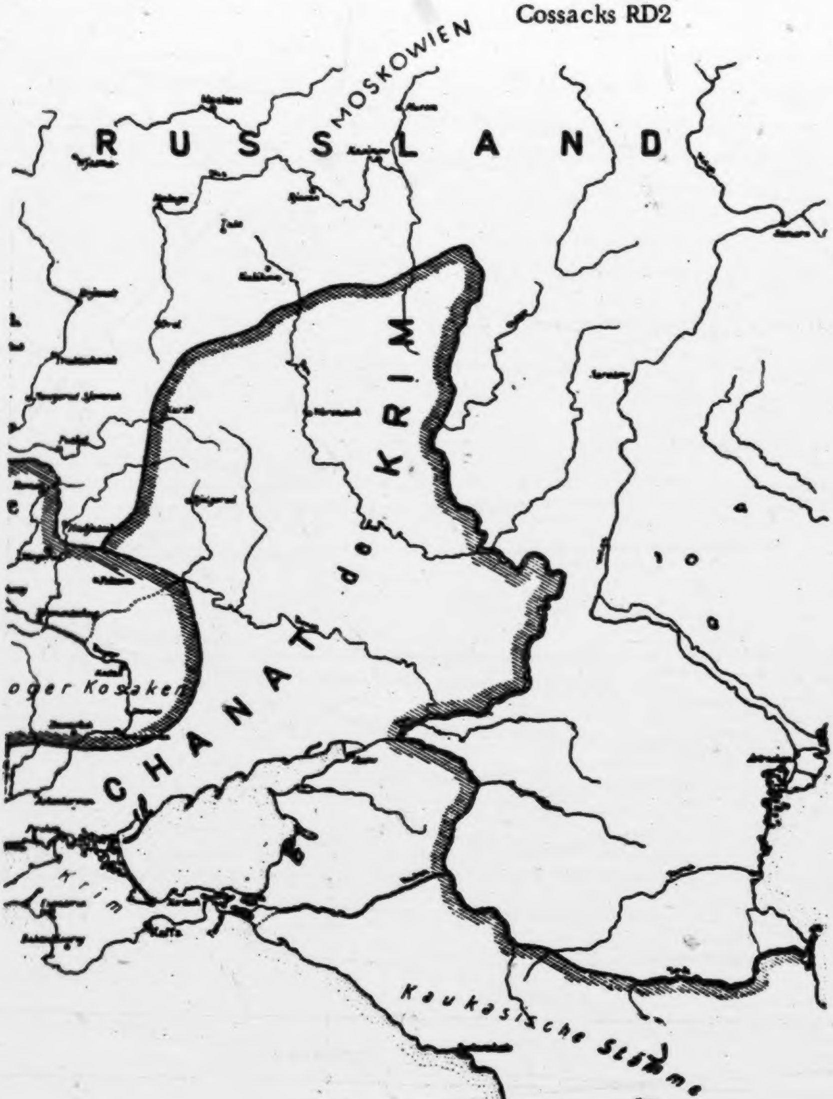
MOSKOWIEN
RUSSLAND
KRIM
CHANAT der
oger Kosaken
Krim
Kaukasische Stämme
ESREICH

[Map III Ukraine at the time of the UNION
of Lublin (1569)]

C 726 648 181 of the Cossack wars. Everywhere the daredevils of the sech "are in great demand as combatants..., especially in the Prussian army where they often attain the rank of officers." (34) An altogether adventurous characterization of the Cossacks is given by Nicolas de Bartenon, Sieur de Monsacré in his general history of the wars of the Turks, which appeared in Paris in 1608. "These men are loath to work like the Scythians, hardened against all difficulties like the Huns, devoted to arms like the Goths, tanned by the sun like the Indians and cruel like the Sarmatians...lions in the hunt, equal to the Turks in craftiness. They remind one of the Scythians in their cruelty and of the Christians in their simple faith." (35)

U 175 c 177 There was ample cause for disputes with the Poles. After the Union of Lublin the Polish nobility "greedily" rushed into the Ukraine on the right of the Dniepr, and attempted to introduce there also the rule of the szlachta. The Jesuit and the Jew belonged to its entourage, the one in order to win over the Orthodox for Rome and therewith for the Polish nation, the other as estate manager and often even as - gatekeepers of the Greek Orthodox Church. The Jews who, according /50/ to the Orthodox Ukrainian conception were "damned" because they belonged to the race that had crucified Christ, the Jews who were despised in the city, here very quickly rose to the position of masters of the Ukrainians. As leaseholders of the estates of the Ukrainian nobility seized by the

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34. Kuschnir, W.: The Ukraine and its Importance in the Present War with Russia, page 23.

35. Borshchak, The Ukraine in Western Literature.

11: Obermaier--49 J-3(no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1
Cossacks RD2

Polish szlachta, they were also not rarely in U
charge of the keys of the church. Thus if some 175
poor little farmer wanted to christen his newborn C 177
child or if a young couple wanted to be married,
they were obliged to pay a fee to the Jew before
he would unlock the church. And this at a time
when the "Zaporogian league of knights" set itself
up as the patron of the Greek Orthodox Church and
reaffirmed the rights of the hierarchy in Kiyev.

Repeatedly, -in 1592, in 1596, 1630 and U
1637 - the Cossacks rose up against Polish arro- 175
gance. The result was bloody, extremely cruel C
reprisals. They pilloried one another, scalded, 669
burned, quartered, excoriated, hanged, broke
each other on the wheel and beheaded one another.

From 1637 on the uprisings of the suppressed
peasants in the Ukraine west of the Dniepr against
the Polish masters and their Jesuit and Jewish
executors went on ceaselessly. The hatred of the
Ukrainian people assumed such proportions that
the slightest provocation caused the lust for
revenge, which had been suppressed with difficulty,
to flare up into madness. The Jewish historian U
Graetz in his history of the Jews characterizes 175
the days before the purgatory of the great Ukrain- C
ian insurrection in the following words: "The 669
Polish Jews were sorely deluded when they offered 563
assistance to the nobility and the Jesuits in
suppressing the Zaporgian Cossacks in the Ukraine
and in Little Russia. The magnates desired to
make profitable serfs out of the Cossacks, the
Jesuits, Roman Catholics out of the Greek heretics;
the Jews who had settled in the territory wanted
to enrich themselves in this way and lord it over
these humblest pariahs. They advised the owners
of the colonies as to how they might most /51/
thoroughly demean, torture and maltreat the Cossacks.
They presumed to set themselves up as judges over
them, and offended them in religious matters. No
wonder that the enslaved Cossacks hated the Jews
almost more than their aristocratic and spiritual

U 175 enemies." (36)

C 669 563 36. Quoted by Seraphim: The Jewry in East-European Area, page 51.

C 669 The rock started rolling when the Poles took away the estate of the Cossack chieftain Bogdan Chmielnicki, when they abducted his wife and killed his son. In vain the Cossack sought justice, and when he failed to find it, he galloped into the sech where he, the rebel, prepared to do anything, was elected hetman by the general assembly of warriors. The insurrection of all free Cossacks and all serfs became thus an accepted fact. With the cry: "death to the nobility, death to the Jesuits!" a mighty Cossack army set out from the sech in 1648, in order to fling the torch of rebellion into the land. The flames of rebellion leapt up everywhere, and soon the Ukraine was ablaze. Estates along with their masters, cities along with their inhabitants were reduced to ashes. Nearly 300,000 rebels took bloody revenge. The Polish armies were devastated or fled in the night before the Cossacks, like the troops at Pilavce which were 230,000 strong. Chmielnicki reached the gates of Lwów. All of Poland trembled at the thought of the day when the Cossacks will be lords of the land. But the hetman did not seize the opportunity - he made a compromise for 70,000 gulden and marched to the gates of Zamosc in order to besiege it. In Warsaw a king was being chosen. Chmielnicki's word sufficed to put Jan Casimir, the cardinal of the Jesuits, on the throne. With craft and cunning and grandiose promises the king succeeded in pacifying the insurrection. The long baggage train of rebels with their heavy cannons drawn by oxen and their booty-laden carts slowly rolled back to the Dniepr. The hetman did not know then that, just before reaching his goal, he thus gambled away Ukrainian freedom.

11: Obermaier--51 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine
Cossacks RD2

The Poles had no intention of fulfilling the peace terms which had been agreed upon. Nothing 669 remains for the hetman /52/ but to take up the struggle anew in the following year, to wage new battles with variable luck, and to set up new peace terms which are now flatly rejected. In 1651 Poles and Ukrainians again met on the field of battle. The hetman's gunpowder gradually ran out and he found it difficult "to accomplish the task of liberation alone". At his request, therefore, the sultan came to his aid by sending forth the Crimean Tatar hordes with whose help two Polish armies were destroyed. But then the khan rode back to the Yaila Mountains and left Chmielnicki to his fate.

Now it became evident that the Republic of 669 the Steppes, constantly fighting without a politi- 648 cal goal, and waging war now with the Poles against the Tatar and Turks, then with the latter against the Poles, then again alone against the other two, has shed too much blood to be able to maintain its sovereignty even temporarily. The Cossack state felt a strong desire for support and turned anew to the sultan. Negotiations failed, and so the hetman was obliged to send his emissary to the czar in Moscow. Alexei hesitated for a long time before he assumed the protectorate over the Ukraine of the Cossacks. Finally in 1654 a feudal contract is signed at Pereiaslav in which the "knights of the sech" recognized the supremacy of the czar whereas they retained the power of maintaining their own army, administering their finances and their legal system and arranging their own contact with foreign courts. The voivode of the czar were not far behind; they made Kiyev the leading fortress of the Kingdom of the Muscovites in the Ukraine. Moscow will always defend to the last this wealthy land which so unexpectedly fell into its hands. Poland, which in its shortsightedness did not accept the peace terms of the hetman, cossacks RD2

and the Ukraine itself thus paved the way for c
Moscow to the Black Sea and thus helped it attain 669
decisive superiority in eastern Europe. /53/ 648

In the following decades many attempts were U
made to alter this fact. There were three parties 175
in the Ukraine, one of which wanted to join with C
Moscow, the other with Poland and the third with 648
the Turks. All three felt that a protectorate was necessary. And all three of them had their turn, one after the other, without any effect on the fate of the Ukrainian people, except to divide it up like the spoils of war between the Russians and the Poles in the Peace of Andrusiv in 1667: Ukraine on the left bank fell to the Muscovite Kingdom, on the right bank to the Poles, except for Kiyev which went to Moscow. A later protectorate of the sultan over the right-bank Ukrainians lasted only a short time. The attempt of hetman Doroshenko to enter into an alliance with the Elector of Brandenburg in 1671 failed.

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The Ukrainian people look back with pride to the Cossack Period and celebrate it in many songs. Perhaps an independent state would have grown up for the Ukrainians in that heroic epoch if there had been but one great statesman among the victorious generals, the hetmans. Death-defying warriors and the joyous shedding of blood were not enough, and there was no political, but only a religious idea at the basis of the "struggle against the infidels". Thus from a national political point of view the tremendous energy of the Cossacks was simply wasted and at the end of an epoch which might have led to the formation of a state important in world history, the mission that sought protection from two foes found itself faced with a third, Moscow.

In spite of the continual unrest, the cultur- U 175
al achievements were significant. From the time c
517
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COSSACKS RD2

the Zaporogians took over the patronage of the Orthodox Church, Kiyev experiences a new cultural flowering. Metropolitan Mogila, himself a Jesuit scholar, reformed the famous Kiyev monasteries and schools after the Jesuit pattern. Under him the /54/ Academy, which still follows the old Byzantine tradition, also came into contact with western culture. Seven years after the death of Mogila, the Arabian author Paul of Aleppo, after a journey through the Ukraine, writes: "The Ukrainians are informed people; they love the sciences and the study of law. They know rhetoric, logic and philosophy. They like to carry on controversies. Beginning with Rakhov, all through Cossack territory we unexpectedly met with something very nice: Almost all the inhabitants can read and write, even their wives and daughters who know the liturgy and religious songs. Children are as abundant as grass, and all of them have learned to read, even orphans who are taught by clergymen." (37)

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37. Tisserand: The Ukraine, the Life of a People.

During the era of the hetman Mazepa, around the turn of the 17th and 18th century, under Muscovite rule, the cultural life of the Ukraine experienced its greatest upsweep. Almost every village had a school, which was never again to be the case. This period found its most splendid expression, however, in the Ukrainian baroque, the union of Byzantine with the baroque style. The fund of knowledge and culture which had accumulated from the time of Mogila's enthronement in 1632 up to the tragic flight of Mazepa, was so rich that Peter the Great and his successors were able to draw abundantly from it. The Kiyev scholars and their students had a significant share in the Europeanizing process of the Muscovite Kingdom which up to that time was buried in obscure barbarism.

Under the two friends, Peter the Great and Ivan Mazepa, the protector and the hetman, the cultural development of the Ukrainian people came to an abrupt end. Peter waged bitter combat with the Swedes for access to the Baltic which lay in Swedish hands. The Czar's difficulties made it seem urgent to the hetman to shake off Moscow's dominion by means of an allegiance with the Swedish king Charles XII. The alliance was formed and Charles XII, coming from devastated /55/ Saxony, attacked the Muscovites. Meanwhile Peter, setting fire to his own land, retreated far into the interior and in one attack destroyed an army of reinforcements amounting to 18,000 men of the Swedish king. Amid dreadful deprivations, exhausted from hunger and cold, young Charles wandered about with his main forces of 33,000 landsknechts on the devastated trail of Peter. He got within 300 kilometers of Moscow when Mazepa persuaded him to turn off to Ukraine. There 30,000 Cossacks were supposed to be ready to come to his aid. However, the hetman promised too much. The mobilization of the Cossacks was only partially successful because Peter was occupying large areas and because, moreover, many Cossack chieftains were not cooperating. Near Poltava in Central Ukraine Czar Peter attacked King Charles and the hetman and destroyed both armies in 1709. Charles and Mazepa fled to the sultan; the one destroyed Sweden's chances of becoming a great power, the other defrauded the Ukraine of its autonomous rights.

The Muscovite meted out dreadful punishment on the followers of Mazepa. There were confiscations, banishments and trials. The hetman state became the province of "Little Russia", the Ukrainians became "Little Russians", the Muscovites "Great Russians" and the entire kingdom: "Russia". The suspension of the autonomous rights of the Ukrainians in 1764, the abolition of the sech by Catherine II in 1775, and the introduction of feudalism in 1783 struck the Ukrainians simply as the affixing of a seal to their defeat at Poltava. The

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175 situation in the Ukraine under Polish rule, where the rage of the Ukrainian pariahs vented itself in the extremely violent hajdamak /robber/ rebellions, was hopeless. Bishops consecrated the knives which were "destined to become sated with blood". Hundreds of thousands of Poles, Jews and Jesuits were mercilessly massacred, and on the gallows along the streets hang, in groups of threes, a Pole, a Jew and a - dog, "all of one faith". The insurrections are quelled in a no less bloody manner. Even the /56/ partitioning of Poland, as a result of which the part of the Ukraine on the right bank fell to Russia, did not change the hopeless situation of the Ukrainian peasants.

000 Peter the Great attained his goal: Moscow's power was firmly anchored on the Baltic and the Black Sea. The significance which was to accrue to the Ukraine in the Muscovite Kingdom is summed up by Napoleon in the ominous "Will of Peter the Great" in the following words: "To come as close as possible to Constantinople and East India! Whoever rules there will be the true master of the world. To this end incite continual wars, alternately against the Turks and against Persia; build wharfs on the Black Sea. The latter, like the Baltic, to be taken possession of step by step; both are essential for the attainment of that goal. To hasten the downfall of Persia. To push forward to the Persian Gulf. If possible, to restore the old trade route to Syria and set out straight for India, the market of the world. Once there, we shall be able to dispense with the gold
U of England". (38) /Facing page 56/ /Map IV: The
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712 38. Trietsch, Russia, page 61, 62.

726 Ukraine Around the Middle of the Seventeenth Century (At the time of Hetman Bogdan Chmielnicki). From the territory of the Zaporogian Cossacks there arose a first "Ukrainian" hetman state with Chigirin

as its center. It dealt heavy blows to the Polish- U 175
Lithuanian state in the middle of the seventeenth C 712
century. The arrows leading from Bazadenk to Lwów 726
point out the direction taken by the army of Hetman Bogdan Chmielnicki to Poland./ /Key inside map: \\\\\\ -.-.-. National boundaries. ┬┬┬┬ Provincial boundaries. ++++ Western boundaries of the Ukrainian voivodeships in Poland. ←←← Campaign of Bogdan Chmielnicki against Poland in the year 1648. ◈ Cossack regimental command. * Seat of the military order "sech".

/57/

In the "Death Quadrangle"

"In a piercing, frosty north wind" on Novem- U 726
ber 16, 1919 there marched passed each other in 'the quadrangle of death, silently, without a military salute, the fragmentary, wretched, barefoot detachments of the West Ukrainian supporting troops and the likewise fragmentary, wretched, barefoot East Ukrainian front-rank troops. The former were going east into the East Podolian area of concentration where the remnants of the West Ukrainian army were to capitulate before the 'Pan-Russians'; the others were going west to Central Volhynia where they were to surrender to the Poles. Both left behind the same landmarks along their way: frozen corpses in the ditches." (39) This was the funeral march of the last soldiers of the West Ukrainian People's Republic and the Ukrainian People's Republic.

The episode of the new Ukrainian statehood U 668
began with the March Revolution in Russia in 1917. 642
On March 22, 1917, a few days after the revolution 175
in Moscow, the "Ukrainian Central Council" was formed in Kiyev, consisting of representatives of

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39. Kuchabskyj: *Western Ukraine in the Struggle with Poland and Bolshevism in the Years 1918 to 1923*, page 389.

11: Obermaier--56A J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1
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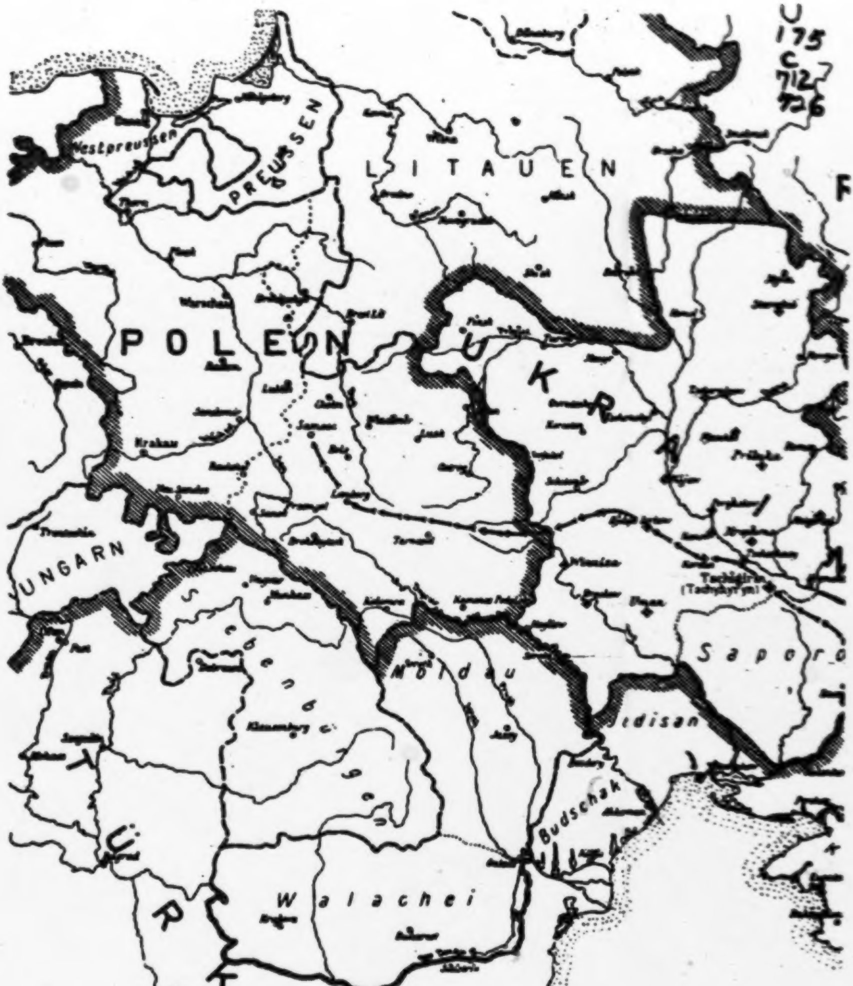
Westpreussen
PREUSSEN
LITAUEN
POLEN
UKR
Krakau
Warschau
UNGARN
Siebenbürgen
Moldau
Jedisan
Budschak
Sapor
Tschigirin
(Tschyhyryn)
Walachei
TÜRKISCHES
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[MAP IV: Ukraine around the Middle of the seventeenth century, cf. complete Legend, pp. 55-56]

11: Obermaier--56B J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1
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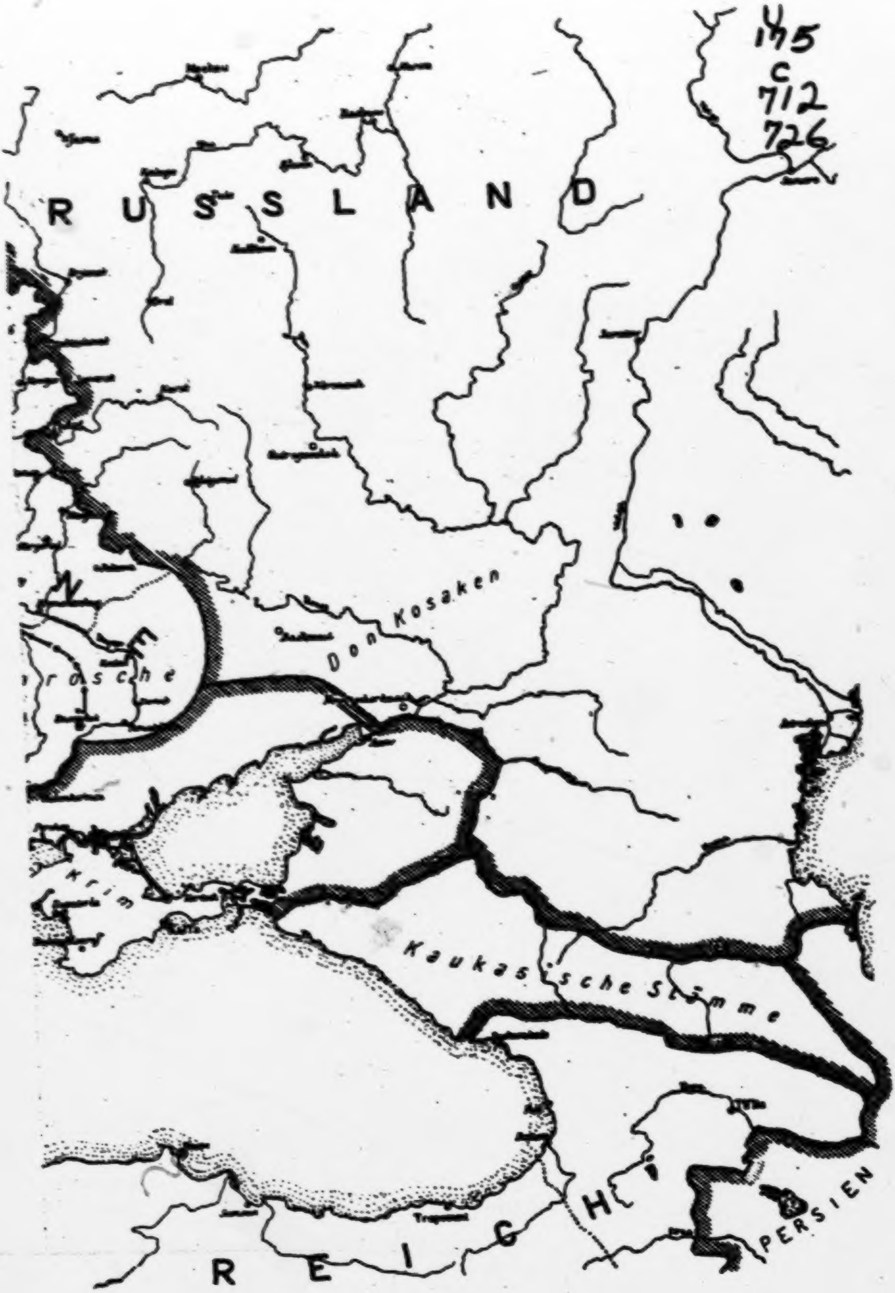
RUSSLAND
Don Kosaken
rosche
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REICH
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[Map IV. the Ukraine around the middle of the seventeenth century]

668 the parties. At the same time the process of making
642 Ukrainians of the various divisions of the troops on
the front began, so that within a few months the
175 Central Council had about one and one-half to two
million Ukrainian soldiers at their disposal. But
in spite of this enormous army, the Central Council
by and large yielded to the orders of the Kerenskii
government of Moscow. Its further policy is characterized
by the four manifestoes which it issued up
to the time of its dissolution in April 1919. On
June 23, 1917 the first manifesto of the Central
Council announced the autonomy of the Ukraine. It
was to maintain its own parliament, the Central
Council, and a /58/ government, the general secretariat.
On July sixteenth the second manifesto followed,
giving particulars as to what was meant by
autonomy, and containing an emphatic declaration
for confederacy. In its manifesto of November 19,
1917 after Lenin had already stepped into power, the
Central Council still clung to the union with Moscow.
Again in this "Universal"-that was what the manifestoes
were called - which proclaimed the Ukrainian
People's Republic, there was mention of federation
with Moscow. On December fourteenth the Council of
648 People's Commissars in Moscow recognized "the
175 Ukrainian People's Republic and its right to separate
completely from Russia or to enter negotiations for
a federation or similar relationships." But in the
same document of recognition the Council of People's
Commissars laid down the condition that the disarming
of Red troops in the Ukraine would have to cease and
that the Central Council would have to desist from
its "counter-revolutionary activity". Should the
People's Commissars fail to obtain a satisfactory
answer to this demand within 48 hours, "the Council
of People's Commissars would assume that the Central
Council was in a state of open warfare against the
Soviet government." A few days after this recognition
coupled with an ultimatum Bolshevik troops
broke into the Ukraine. In Khar'kov there was formed
a Ukrainian-Bolshevik counter-government, and Moscow's

648 war against Kiyev began.

Straightway Bolshevik propaganda made itself
668 felt in the Ukraine. It was easy to unleash revolutionary
175 energies, after the Central Council had prepared the ground with the same arguments, albeit in a weaker form. In the country unbridled peasant rebellion against the squires raged. It was arable land and fine cattle and horses on the farms that the peasants wanted; they did not care who ruled in the cities. This was the state of affairs in the Ukraine when on January 22, 1918 the Central Council in Kiyev in a fourth manifesto proclaimed the sovereign "Ukrainian People's /59/ Republic" and put into effect separation from "indivisible Russia". However, at the same time it did not forget to announce that after the overthrow of Bolshevism, there should again be cooperation with Russia. The manifesto which was meant at last to arouse national passions suppressed for so long, was not heard in the noise of general rebellion. A few days after the proclamation of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the parliament and the government at Kiyev were surprised by a revolt of Bolsheviks and its members were arrested. If they had not been freed by the Ukrainian sharpshooters of the sech who became the nucleus of the later Ukrainian armies, and the corps of free Cossacks consisting of workmen, these parliamentarians would have faced certain death. It was precisely in those days that the Central Powers at Brest Litovsk recognized the independent Ukrainian People's Republic on February 9, 1918. Vienna was facing a famine and needed grain, so the peace was favorable to the Ukraine. For the adjudication of national sovereignty they were obliged to furnish a half million tons of grain. The "peace for bread" had been signed one day when the Bolsheviks drove the Central Council out of their capital. In March the situation became so threatening for the Ukrainian government that it was obliged to appeal to the Central Powers

648 668 175

for occupation and riddance of the Ukraine from Bolsheviks. Thereupon German and Austro-Hungarian troops occupied the country. In Kiyev the Central Powers established military, diplomatic and political representation. In order to take the wind out of the sails of the vigorous Bolshevik agitation, the Central Council nevertheless saw itself forced to continue its revolutionary activity. Thus, against their will, they led "the country toward a complete social-revolutionary dissolution in which East Ukraine had inevitably to fall victim to the Bolshevism of Moscow." (40)

40. Kuchabskyj: _Western Ukraine in the Struggle with Poland and Bolshevism._

It is obvious that the conservatively-minded German authorities had no understanding of such governmental tricks as would seriously jeopardize /60/ the furnishing of grain. Therefore they supported the attempt of the former aide-de-camp of the Czar and Russian general of Ukrainian origin, Pavlo Skoropadskyj, to introduce the monarchical office of hetman instead of the Republican Central Council.

668 175

On April 29, 1918 Pavlo Skoropadskyj, the offspring of a hetman family, proclaimed a new hetman state in the Ukraine. Nevertheless, the indigenous props of this monarchical regime were very weak. If he had not been protected from the beginning by the authority of the army of occupation, the revolutionary masses would have driven him out along with his few dozens of landowners, industrialists, merchants and officers on the very first day. Skoropadskyj's first efforts were directed toward restoring the pre-revolutionary social conditions in the country, during which process his men did not shrink from severe penal expeditions and from the use of the "traditional Russian wisdom" - the club. This led to repeated bloody rebellions on the part of the embittered peasants. An uneducated, fermenting,

668 destitute mass of humanity, as yet incapable of
self-administration, a much too small middle class
175 and a corrupt reactionary society at the head,-
these were the elements of the hetman state. But
it was the hetman's doom that, for lack of a
national Ukrainian conservative stratum, he was
obliged to lean more and more on the old domiciled
Russian circles who in the end completely won over
the Ukrainian head of the state to their reaction-
ary plans. On November 14, 1918 Skoropadskyj set
642 up an Old Russian government in Kiyev and announced
648 the federation of the Ukraine with a czarist Russia
175 which, however, was never again to arise. Twenty-
four hours after the announcement of the annexa-
tion of the Ukraine to this fictitious czarist
Russia, the revolt of the "Ukrainian National
League" against Skoropadskyj and the Old Russian
counter-revolutionaries broke out. There begins
the period of the second Ukrainian People's Repub-
lic, at the head of which is a five-man governing
board. At the end of the /61/ seven-month rule of
Skoropadskyj, after his flight from the new Ukrain-
ian government, he made the following confession
in his last manifesto of December 14, 1918: "God
did not give me the strength to attain my goal."

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In the meantime Austria-Hungary also approached its dissolution. On October 10, 1918 in the Imperial Council of Vienna, the Ukrainian parliamentarians from Galicia demanded the right of self-government for the Ukrainians of Austria-Hungary; it was only a few days before the collapse of the Empire. On the eighteenth of October the Ukrainian members of the Imperial Council and the Diet in Lwów founded the Ukrainian National Council which on the following day proclaimed the union of all Ukrainian territories in Austria-Hungary. The National Council set up three executive committees and therewith imagined it had done all that

was necessary. Then they received a telegram of 642
the Western powers containing the confirmation or 648
the order to make use of self-government and found 175
the West Ukrainian state would come fluttering into the house. The parliamentarians who received their political education in the lobbies of the Imperial Council building had complete faith in the magic formula of self-government and were waiting to see what the Western powers would have to say. Action was taken only by several companies of East Galician-Ukrainian troops who in the night of the first of November seized Lwów in a surprise attack. The Galician capital was predominantly inhabited by Poles and Jews, and the Poles immediately countered with a revolt. The Ukrainian National Council was still waiting patiently; it had made no real preparations to take over power in Galicia. Thus its appeals must be directed to the anonymous masses, "To everyone", with the request that they lend a helping hand everywhere and intervene everywhere. Finally on November ninth the government, the temporary state secretariat, was formed and the division of governmental power very neatly handled. The /62/ National Council was to make the laws, the State Secretariat was to see that they were enforced. Then the order was given that all "necessary steps be taken to unite all the Ukrainian provinces into one state". The new state called itself the "West Ukrainian People's Republic". Its alliance with the East "Ukrainian People's Republic" was solemnly announced on January 22, 1919 in Kiyev. The West Ukrainian People's Republic was given the name "Western Territory of the Ukrainian People's Republic". In reality, however, conditions remained as before between the West Ukrainian and the East Ukrainian state, in spite of formal amalgamation. Both states continued to be independent allies, small West Ukraine being the stronger.

The West Ukrainian state was obliged from the beginning to reckon with opponents who were

642 bent on the most extreme measures. Roman Dmovski,
chairman of the Polish National Committee founded
648 in Paris during the war and leader of the Polish
175 delegation at the peace negotiations, was the
most bitter enemy of any kind of Ukrainian state. He countered the partition of Great Russia at Brest Litovsk with the partitioning of the Ukraine. It was completely in accordance with his ideas when as early as February 28, 1918, after Brest Litovsk, the Paris National Committee decided completely to destroy Ukrainian state in East Europe at any cost. To this end Polish agents in Paris, London and Washington used all their powers of persuasion on leading politicians and newspapers. They wisely suppressed the fact that Polish plans secretly included the entire Ukraine west of the Dniepr which had fallen to Russia in the partitions of Poland. These opponents of independent Ukrainian state were augmented: the Polish army of General Haller, which was formed in the summer of 1918 on French soil and which was recognized as the "confederate army" on the twenty-eighth of September, arrived in Poland.

West Ukraine could be nothing more than booty or a tool in the hands of the Allies. Inasmuch as France /63/ wanted to build up against Germany a Poland that was as strong as possible, it was best that Poland subjugate West Ukraine and thus exclude any threat from the rear. Only Foch for a time entertained the plan of erecting a Ukrainian vassal state and of throwing in its soldiers against the Bolsheviks. For the English Liberals, West Ukraine was an object of barter which could be used as an extortionary measure against the French, or, if there was no other way, could be made into a mandate state under the supervision of the League of Nations.

The fiercest enemies of the East Ukrainian
648 statehood, however, were the Bolsheviks who, fully
175 aware of the fateful significance of a loss of the

648 Ukraine for the Muscovite realm, strained every
175 effort to fight for the country. The Pan-Russian counter-revolutionary armies also proved themselves opponents not to be underestimated. "The campaigns of Denikin, Kolchak, Iudenich and other Russian generals clearly proved that there were only two forces fighting in the Russian civil war: the old Czarist absolutism against the new Bolshevik despotism. And both of them fought with equal ferocity against the Ukraine." (41)

41. Danko: The Nation in Soviet Chains, page 25.

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726 A surprise attack of the Ukrainian troops on Lwów set off the Polish-West Ukrainian War.
175 For weeks wild fighting raged in the streets of the city; finally the Poles succeeded in bringing in troops and forcing the Ukrainians out of Lwów during the night of November 22, 1918. The victors exercised bloody reprisals on the Ukrainian population; they destroyed Ukrainian property and dragged many respected citizens into concentration camps from which they were never to return. The Jews expiated for their neutrality with a three-day pogrom, during which whole blocks of houses went up in flames.

After the loss of Lwów, the West Ukrainian
[631] state included about 40,000 square kilometers with
642 four million /64/ inhabitants, among them three
648 million Ukrainians. To destroy this dwarf state
was the firm intention of the leaders of the Polish
726 state of eighteen million. The Ukrainian govern-
175 ment now had its seat at Stanislawów; Dr. Ievgen Petrushevych was the head of the state. He and many other men who were responsible for the fate of West Ukraine still regarded it as "an incident, a misunderstanding, an error" that there was any fighting at all between Poles and Ukrainians. Heedless of the front which was expanding day by

642 day and of the increasingly bloody battles, they
648 abandoned themselves to the illusion that these
misunderstandings would merely have to be cleared
726 up and all would be well. They believed that
175 patience was required until the Allies carried out
the right of self-government for which the Ukrainians alone were obliged to fight with weapons. "The fact that individual destinies must be determined by the will of the individual - such points of view which are so familiar to conquering nations, were completely foreign to the 'Ukrainian National Council', all the more since there was not a single, in any way outstanding, personality in leading political circles, who would have been capable in a critical situation to grasp the reins and direct events." (42)

> 42. Kuchabskyj: West Ukraine in the Struggle with Poland and Bolshevism, page 52.

175 The war which at the beginning was carried
726 on with a few thousand men on both sides was in full force by the end of December. At this time the Ukrainians successfully mobilized their fighting manpower up to 35 years of age. Then, however, they made the mistake of abandoning warfare in the open country and of leaving the initiative to the Poles who, in keeping with their reckless methods, made use of it. In spite of the fact that the Ukrainian front which ran northward from the Carpathians presented considerable deficiencies along its approximately 250-kilometer length, that the battalions, for example, were strung together loosely and without a unified supreme command, nevertheless the Polish troops which arrived from mid-January on suffered heavy defeats. Thus General Romer
000 /Facing page 64/ /Above: A typical Ukrainian church made of wood, in the Carpathians. Below: Ukrainian peasant woman baking bread./[1] /Facing page 65/ /The Ukrainian landscape is full

[1] [This plate not processed for files — Analyst]

000 of unique charm. - In spite of their poverty, Ukrainian peasants keep their loam huts clean./2
726 /65/ along with 5000 men was defeated and shortly thereafter other Polish detachments north of Lwów
175 were destroyed.

And now the Ukrainians fell into a situation which was somehow reminiscent of the siege of Lwów by hetman Chmielnicki in 1648. It was again Lwów that was besieged and cut off from the rest of the world. The city seemed hopelessly lost, there was even no water. At this point when the war was developing favorably for the Ukrainians and when it could only be a few days before Lwów fell into their hands as a trump which might even overtrump the Western Powers, they ceased hostilities as a result of the promises of a French military mission. "...If, in turn, you accept our proposal we shall take steps toward the recognition of your sovereignty...". But the peace terms of the French General Berthelemy seemed so severe to the Ukrainians that after three days they resumed the fight. The brief pause sufficed for the Poles to recover. Morale in the Ukrainian army was also no longer of the best after the prospects of peace had been shattered. The soldiers lived through a severe winter. Some of them were in need of coats, and even more, or a corps of officers which might have served as a moral support to them during the long months of life in the trenches. Five hundred soldiers and one officer! That represents a catastrophic dearth of officers. Gangs of East Ukrainian peasants sent to help, caused mutiny and plunder so that they were decimated and sent back over the border.

To what extent the Ukrainian general staff had already lost the leadership of its troops was proved by the vote which it took among the individual battalions upon the armistice command of the Entente of March 19, 1919. Whereas the Ukrainian army, in response to it, declared itself

2[For plate, see p. 219, category 116 - Analyst] for the armistice, the Poles who started a general 126 offensive on March eighteenth, paid no attention 175 to the wishes of their allies /66/ in Paris. On the contrary, without running up against any opposition worth mentioning, they built up a favorable starting point for a new offensive, extending from the Carpathians to Volhynia. General Haller worked out the plans, unconcerned over the fact that the Supreme Council in Paris was already preparing the armistice terms. For the Council attached importance to a rapid ending of hostilities in order that Bolshevik Moscow may be all the more rapidly and positively destroyed. Polish attacks on the first and second Ukrainian army corps announced the impending catastrophe. The Ukrainian soldiers were tired of war; they marauded, mutinied, plundered, left the trenches and simply went home. No wonder that the two army corps were defeated in "wildest flight". At this point General Haller prepared for what he considered would be the mortal blow. The disintegrated Ukrainian front was faced with nine Polish infantry divisions, among them two Haller divisions equipped in the best possible manner by the French. In most cases the Poles stormed empty ditches and deserted villages; occasionally they broke up local resistance. The defeat of the Ukrainians was complete.

At this moment, slowly, guardedly, two Rumanian divisions pushed across the crests of the Carpathians into southeastern Galicia and captured the only infantry supply base still left the Ukrainians.

The remnants of the exhausted West Ukrainian army marched eastward with its baggage and accompanied by fleeing civilians toward an unknown destination, while in East Ukraine Bolsheviks drove the remnants of the East Ukrainian army westward. Ievgen Petrushevych rose up to become dictator of his wandering West Ukrainian state.

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Another page was turned. General Haller 726
was obliged to throw his divisions onto the 175
western frontier of Poland. The Treaty of Versailles was to be signed. No /67/ one knows whether the Germans may not refuse to sign, ally themselves with the Bolsheviks and enter a desperate struggle.

It does not seem impossible that a surprise attack of the Ukrainians may be successful. Petrushevych named the Russian General A. Grekov, who had staked everything on the Ukraine, supreme commander of the West Ukrainian forces. He is the author of the plans for an offensive which, under his name, was to enter Ukrainian military history as one of the most daring deeds.

In the early morning of June 8, 1919 the Ukrainians began the assault on the town of Chortkov which had been captured a few days before by the Poles. "The effect of this advance was baffling. Several Polish battalions who were defending the town dispersed and took to wildest flight. Almost the entire enemy artillery of this division, all their baggage and several hundred prisoners fell into the hands of West Ukrainians. In the market-place of the town a national parade of the Polish inhabitants of the entire countryside had just gathered in order to celebrate the 'burial of the Ukraine'. The fleeing soldiers fell upon this crowd: 'Run! The Ukrainians are already here!' - and the entire festively-clothed multitude fled with the troops, just as they were, abandoning everything. Then something improbable happened to the Ukrainians under General Grekov when the news of the battle of Chortkov reached them. On the entire West Ukrainian front of 35 kilometers the 726
8000 men whom West Ukrainians engaged in combat 703
pushed forward, and there followed a sudden, pos- 175
itively miraculous transformation in the attitude of the entire nation. Suddenly they became aware that they were being led, that they were being

commanded by a real general. The soldier who 726
only yesterday was unable to halt an enemy advance 703
now dashed ahead recklessly. The divisions which 175
throughout the war did not know how to cooperate
with their neighbors /68/ now functioned with a
baffling tactical assurance. They attacked, they
pushed through, they rolled up enemy flanks, they
pursued, they marched into the roar of enemy guns
to help their neighbor to victory. The higher
staff officers who up to that time had known
nothing but caution, suddenly learned how to seek
out the enemy, to find him, to attack, to pursue,
to break into the enemy's rear. The ones who
only yesterday were deserting, those who were
barely able to carry arms, young and old, all now
joined the advancing West Ukrainian troops. A
crowd marched into a village, only to leave it as
a company." (43)

43. Kuchabskyj: Western Ukraine in the Struggle with Poland and Bolshevism, page 302.

From the beginning an extreme shortage of 175
infantry munitions imperiled these brilliant 726
victories of West Ukrainia. There were only
enough weapons to equip a bare 20,000 men. On
June ninth and tenth the Ukrainians overran two
Polish divisions who fled in wild panic along with all
the inhabitants. Ten days later they put to
flight five divisions, and on June 27 a new Polish
line of resistance became shaky. It, too, was
destroyed. Nevertheless, the Ukrainians did not
succeed in capturing the badly needed arms and
munitions. At last, only two days' march from
Lwów the offensive was halted. New Polish divisions were thrown in and Pilsudski himself, who
had previously already taken over the supreme
command but had been unable to avoid the last
breakthrough, now gave the command for a counter-offensive....In its extremity Poland mobilized the

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Supreme Council in Paris which on June 25 already drew up the following decision which was to be communicated to West Ukrainia: "In order to protect life and property of the peaceable inhabitants of East Galicia from the dangers which threaten them at the hands of the Bolshevik mobs, the 'Supreme Council' ...has resolved to empower the forces of the Polish Republic to carry on their operations as far as the Sbrucz River."

With new, completely equipped divisions the /69/ Poles began their offensive on June 28, 1919, exactly half an hour before General Grekov also ordered a new attack. The proportion of forces was too unequal, a Ukrainian victory became impossible. The Ukrainian army retreated amid constant counterattacks. Various positions could not be defended at all, because whole divisions had not a single cartridge. Thus the Ukrainians reached the river which forms the boundary between Galicia and East Ukraine. "A giant baggage train dragging the entire supplies of the army into the uncertain future, columns of civilian refugees, more than a hundred thousand people, left their homes. Among them was an army of over 60,000 men comprising the quartermaster corps, over 20,000 of these fighting forces." On July 16 the rear guard crossed the Sbrucz.

An eyewitness dramatically described the end of the Polish-West Ukrainian War: "These were dreadful days! From one side came Poles, from the other Bolsheviks. The territory of both Ukrainian states now comprised only a narrow strip along the bank of the Sbrucz River. In this area could be heard the booming of guns from the east and the west...Endless files of West Ukrainian army service corps marched past...From afar cannon boomed: this was the West Ukrainian artillery which held off the Polish attack with greatest bravery to give the service corps time

726 175 to retreat with the sick and wounded and with the supplies. There was still some ammunition for the cannons, the foot soldiers had none left. The latter helped their artillery wherever they could hold off the Poles with blank weapons, and they defended with their bodies the last fields of their West Ukrainian homeland." (44)

44. Kuchabskyj: Western Ukraine in the Struggle with Poland and Bolshevism, page 319.

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175 The same tragedy accompanied the battles of the East Ukrainians. Shortly after the summons of the Directorate which was secretly elected by the "Ukrainian National League" and was headed /70/ by the writer Volodimir Vynnychenko and the former bank official and journalist Simon Petliura, the army of the Directorate marched from Bila Cerkva to Kiyev. It consisted of 4 companies of infantry, 1 battery of field guns, 12 heavy machine guns and half a squadron of cavalry. Hetman Skoropadskyj threw all the forces he could spare at that moment into the troops of the Directorate: 3 battalions of infantry. At Fastiv, not far from Kiyev, the sech sharpshooters of the Directorate, after a heroic struggle, turned the tide of the battle in which a battalion of Russian officers was annihilated up to the last man, in their favor. "The effect of the battle was tremendous. With one blow, as though suddenly paralyzed, the counterrevolution in the Ukraine, specifically in Kiyev, gave itself up as lost. On the other hand, the entire East Ukraine arose at the first report of this victory as though at a magic word. Hundreds of thousands of peasants from all over stormed the cities and towns. The entire East Ukraine resembled a storm-lashed ocean." (45)

45. Kuchabskyj: Western Ukraine in the Struggle with Poland and Bolshevism, page 109.

However minute the battle of Fastiv may have been, it was nevertheless of decisive historic importance. With the hetman-Ukraine the Russian counterrevolution lost its strategic basis from which no lesser person than Marshall Foch was planning to launch the destructive campaign against the Bolsheviks. Fastiv destroyed the foundations of his plans which had seemed feasible and the success of which would have resulted in a system of government other than the Bolshevik. But the victory of Fastiv was also the condition for the subsequent battles for freedom of the Ukrainians against the Russians and the all-Russian counterrevolution; as a result of them Ukrainian national sentiment was to gain unexpected strength.

As one of its first official acts the Directorate signed the agreement about the annexation of West Ukraine. On December 14, 1918, "supported by a hundred thousand armed peasants", it made its triumphal entry into Kiyev. Nevertheless, the mood of the people and appearances were deceptive. Aside /71/ from the fact that after the hetman administration was driven out, the forces absolutely necessary for the establishment of a new apparatus of government were lacking, a radical socialistic trend forthwith began to undermine the prestige of the Directorate in a fatal manner. When the Central Council sent out feelers to the Supreme Command of the French intervention troops which had landed at Odessa, Kherson and Mikolaiv, it was accused of negotiating with the intruders in order, like Skoropadskyj, to reinstate the Polish and Russian large landowners. The Bolshevik agitators coming from Moscow maintained the very same thing, and pointed to the counterrevolutionaries who were gathering together among the intervention troops. Mistrust of the Central Council finally became so great that many Ukrainian officers, with Grigorijev and Tiutiunnyk at their head, deserted in order to fight with their own troops

115 against the Entente intervention. It was the army of Grigorjev, that had joined the Bolsheviks, which so disgracefully threw the invading army into the sea. When Lenin wanted to send his allies to the Hungarian Communists, Grigorijev refused to obey and proclaimed a separate independent Soviet Ukraine.

In this way a realm larger than Germany drifted into anarchy. Outside of Kiyev armed mobs of peasants constituted the supreme authority. Plundering, they marched into the cities, and woe to the landowner, woe to the Jew who fell into their hands. They deprived the homeward-bound German and Austrian troops of their weapons; they also made the railroads unsafe. From Austria and Germany the completely dilapidated prisoners of war wander back. "Headmen arose among the armed masses as well as among the country people who called themselves otamans - meaning approximately "commander" -, and the bands of the 'People's Army of the Directorate' soon largely turned into actual gangs. It was a matter of chance as to which side these bands joined - whether the 'Directorate', the /72/ Bolsheviks or the socialist-revolutionary 'pedocrats' who were opposed to everything. It all depended on what happened to please a headman. Here the 'social-revolutionary' circles rebelled against the Directorate, there a vulgar mob carried out bloody pogroms against the Jews, either under national-Ukrainian, Bolshevik or, as happened even more often, under anarchist slogans..."

In the middle of January, 1919, the West Ukrainian delegates arriving in Kiyev in order to attend the proclamation of the Great Ukrainian state, happened upon this unbelievable chaos.

This celebration was scarcely over when Bolshevik troops already approached the Great Ukrainian capital and, on February fourth, drove out the Directorate along with the West Ukrainian guests. Soon Lenin's hosts which were joined by revolutionary peasants as well as Jews and poor workers became

175 masters of the cities which were decisive for possession of the country. The Directorate, however, wandered about in Podolia and Volhynia with dwindling fighting forces, one day set up its quarters in railroad coaches, the next day in one of the horrible Jewish cities. The People's Republic "resembled a barricade of chariots on the march".

The Directorate now consisted of only three members. Simon Petliura, war minister in the Central Council of the Ukrainian Republic before the hetmanship of Skoropadskyj was chairman. His modesty and his brilliant eloquence fascinated his people, especially the sech sharpshooters. He was "a tribune, not a statesman; not a general but only a leader", (46) yet always imbued with an unshakable faith in the victory of the Ukrainian national idea.

The thing which in March 1919 had called itself in Volhynia the "Ukrainian People's Republic" was no longer a state. Nor did it carry on any foreign politics. Petliura's idea of it is that it /Facing page 72/ /Harvest time. From early morning until late at night the mowing machines, formerly drawn by horses, now by mighty tractors, are driven over the endless fields./[1] /Facing page 73/ /The hut in which a Ukrainian worker's family lives in Krivyi Rog.[2] Below: These are specialists - tractor drivers and tractor assemblers of a collective farm near Uman./[2]/73/ supplied the troops with war material. There could no longer be any question of a fixed front. In April the East Ukrainian army numbered 15,000 men all told, half of which are West Ukrainians. These 15,000 are what is left of the

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46. Kuchabskyj: Western Ukraine in the Struggle with Poland and Bolshevism, page 119 ff.

[1] [This plate not processed for files -Analyst]

[2] [For plate, see p. 220, category 116 -Analyst]

175 100,000 volunteers with whom the Directorate entered Kiyev after the battle near Fastiv, four months before. The majority of these hosts were lost, joined wild bands, or went home. The ones who were faithful to Petliura, however, were like the Cossacks of earlier times, freedom-loving rebels, brave and fearless in the face of death.

In view of the situation which became ever more threatening, Petliura from the first saw his only hope in incorporating his troops into the Foch Plan. The Marshall wants to destroy the Bolsheviks - the Directorate has the same desire. As early as February, even before Petliura assumed dictatorship, the emissaries of the Directorate implored the supreme commander of the intervention troops of the Entente, which had landed in Odessa, to give them armaments. On February sixth the French officers delivered an "ultimatum" to the representatives of Greater Ukraine, by means of the fulfillment of which the Ukrainians would be able to attain the right of dying a hero's death under French supreme command - other privileges were to be discussed later.

French demands were simply incredible. The French, in possession of only a tiny area around Odessa, still drunk with victory in the west, set up conditions which completely overshadow anything the Central Powers demanded when they held in a firm military control all of Greater Ukraine. The president of the Directorate, the war minister and another member of the Directorate which, according to orders of the French supreme commander is to be reorganized, were supposed to withdraw. Railroads were to be put under the control of the French supreme command, the troops of the Directorate under the leadership of the French supreme commander. /74/ Russian officers were to be placed side by side with the Ukrainian ones, and the Ukrainians, finally, were to address a document to the French government in which they were to repent of their shortcomings - friendship with Germany and attempts at socialization -, promise to continue the war against the Bolsheviks, and ask France's support in mobilizing a Ukrainian army and in building up the entire "economic, financial, military and political life of the Ukraine All of this was crowned by the demand that the petition to the French government must emphasize how very much the plea of the Ukraine to France "arose primarily from its confidence in the French people, their magnanimity and their historical renown".

The sech sharpshooters, the backbone of the army of the Directorate, protested against every attempt to remove Petliura, and since the Grigorijev army, allied with the Bolsheviks, drove the army of intervention into the Black Sea on April 3, 1919, the Ukrainians were spared the trouble of making use of French magnanimity. Thus the plans of the all-powerful Foch of rearranging east Europe according to French ideas failed. After the defeat of the army of intervention in Odessa, the prospects of its troop movements to Moscow being financed were very slight.

With this the East Ukrainian army lost all value as far as Foch's plans were concerned, and he therefore turned his wrath toward the West Ukrainian army which was causing trouble to his Polish protégés. "All that was left in the end of the world-shattering plans of Foch was the concentration of his forces for the terrible blow which was supposed to have brought 'occidental civilization' as far as the Volga, on the tiny country of West Ukraine which was no more than 200 kilometers wide and 200 kilometers deep. Like a hungry lion not scorning even a mouse, the mighty marshall discharged his terrible wrath on the little heap of misery which represented West Ukraine in combat with world powers." (47)

47. Kuchabskyj, Western Ukraine in the Struggle with Poland and Bolshevism. page 214.

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175 /75/ After its withdrawal from East Galicia, 726 the West Ukrainian army joined the remnants of the army of the Directorate. "Quadrangle of death", this is the name given to the region between the Polish border and Kiyev and southward toward the Dniestr. There was no longer any escape for the Ukrainians; they were encircled by enemies from whom they either became isolated, as from the Rumanians in the southwest and the Poles in the west, or else are engaged in combat as by the Bolsheviks and the all-Russian, counterrevolutionary Denikin army. In spite of the union of West and East Ukraine on January 22, 1919, the West and East Ukrainian ministers rule side by side wherever the "capital" happens to be. Petrushevych still believed in the necessity of an independent West Ukrainian government. He was convinced that the Entente will surely give authority to such a government upon the expected rebirth of the West Ukrainian People's Republic. The dictator was possessed "of that firmness which is commonly called character". As though the supreme council of war had not already on June 25, 1919, when Grekov's victorious troops were still standing at the gates of Lwów, pronounced the death sentence over West Ukraine! Dmovskij remained the victor. The Ukrainian peace delegation whose members were at variance with one another, and who had even had difficulty entering the country, had been given no opportunity whatsoever to speak. Other peoples were given to states in which they never grew up; the Ukrainians were strangled in the midst of the fight for their state.

After the various divisions of their armies were united, the dictators Petliura and Petrushevych decided on an offensive against Kiyev. Once again with their fight for the capital of the country, 175 they wished to prove to all the world the Ukrainian will for independence. By the middle of July 1919, one month after the tragic crossing of the Sbrucz, the entire country between the Pripyat swamps in the north almost to Odessa in the south, from Sbrucz halfway to Kiyev, was conquered, and the outlines of the "quadrangle of death" pushed forward and extended. /76/ The influx of volunteers and rich spoils made possible the establishment of an army of 100,000 men with whom the assault on Kiyev could most probably be risked.

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Once again Petliura tried to lead his strange form of a state out of its dreadful isolation. He offered to cover the flanks of the army of Denikin, the all-Russian counterrevolutionist. The general whom England supported in return for the tacit surrender of the oil fields of Baku, had just begun an impetuous course of victory which was to lead his armies made up primarily of Ukrainian Kuban Cossacks and Russian-Ukrainian Don Cossacks, east of the Dniepr to Moscow. Bolshevik rule seemed to be nearing its end. Supported by America and Japan because of prospects of concessions, Admiral Kolchak was fighting in Siberia against Lenin's troops. The nucleus of Kolchak's army consisted of the Czech Legion. North of the Arctic Ocean, with Archangel as the port of embarkation, English, Americans and Italians under the leadership of General Gurko threatened the Bolshevik state which was being attacked from Esthonia by the army of intervention under General Iudenich. - No, Denikin with his 200,000 victorious soldiers did not need to have his flanks protected by the Ukrainian separatist and rebel leader! Denikin instructed General Bredov to push on toward Kiyev in forced marches. Meanwhile Petliura pushed ahead a part of his now quite respectable army against the Fourteenth Army Corps of the Bolsheviks concentrated north of Odessa and

175 threatened - what a chaos! - in the east simul-
176 taneously by Denikin and by rebellious peasants. On this occasion the Ukrainians destroyed one Bolshevik division completely. Their offensive against Kiyev also hit the mark; the capital was occupied during the night of August 31, 1919 by the Ukrainian armies.

In a state of mad delusion Denikin, on the following day, snatched /77/ Kiyev from the Ukrainians who in their hatred of Bolshevism were certainly a match for the all-Russian reactionary general. What a fateful day! From the east Denikin's troops caught the guards on the Dniepr bridge unawares and entered the city when the Ukrainians were just making their solemn entry. With the salvos which were breaking in the midst of the parade of the unsuspecting victors, a simply grotesque battle began. The war which Petliura always wanted to avoid, broke out. Lenin can triumph - he got a breather while his enemies were murdering each other, and he threw the forces that were relased in this way into the front, which was most seriously threatened. The crime of the reactionary was punished on the spot. His victorious troops advanced to within 300 miles of Moscow when the Bolshevik Cavalry General Budienny attacked them and literally ran them down. The catastrophe which thus broke over the proud general and his world was crushing. Budienny destroyed corps after corps of the Denikin army, whose chaotically retreating soldiers, moreover, perished in the deluge of a wild peasant insurrection.

The physical and spiritual resistance of the Ukrainians was broken by the cowardly attack on Kiyev. Upon the ranks of discouraged and despairing soldiers who retreated into the "quadrangle of death" there descended a new enemy: spotted typhus. Without food, without underwear, without shoes, without clothing, without sanitary supplies, without weapons, without medicine - the Entente had forbidden the importation of drugs - they

175 dragged themselves away from the pursuing enemy.
176 Whither? No one could answer this question. "In the railroad stations along the front hundreds of Ukrainian soldiers lay dying, without any kind of human help; and hundreds marched and fought while they were infected and broke down in the camps." By the end of October 1919, the two armies numbered 6000 men, of which 4000 were West Ukrainians. They were concentrated in the region of Kamenets in Podolia. /78/

The end was ghastly, like a vision of inferno. The "scourge of God", typhus, also lashed down upon the troops of Denikin which, exhausted by the epidemic and discouraged by the defeat at the hands of Budienny, had gathered together southeast of the remnants of the Ukrainian army. "Then suddenly the phantom of the 'all-Russian' counter-revolution loomed up: ruins of Denikin's army ignored the West Ukrainian frontal troops and everywhere pushed on only against the East Ukrainian divisions, in order to wreak revenge on the East Ukrainians at the last minute, before the victorious Bolshevism was to banish to the grave that 'all-Russian' ghost. This 'assault' of a few hundred pestilence-stricken 'all-Russians" against an equally few pestilence-stricken East Ukrainians was horrible. Everywhere the wreckage consisting of East Ukrainians surrendered, almost without a struggle, just as the 'all-Russians', who were in a state of even greater disintegration than the East Ukrainians, would surely have surrendered if it had occurred to the East Ukrainians to storm their positions."

In this way the Greater Ukrainian state perished. "In a piercing, frosty northwind there marched in the 'quadrangle of death', silently..."

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After the victory of the Bolsheviks over their

175 726 enemies Warsaw trembled at the thought of the moment when the Muscovites would begin their assault on young Poland in order to take it back into the folds of "indivisible Russia". Pilsudski awaited the attack which he would have liked to forestall, in the spring of 1920. For this preventive war Petliura, with the remnants of the East Ukrainian army which were sitting in concentration camps - the remnants of the West Ukrainian army put themselves under Bolshevik protection and were in part fighting on that side against the Poles, - is just good enough. With blissful confidence the head of the erstwhile Ukrainian People's Republic signed an alliance with the Poles. Petliura renounced /79/ West Ukraine, although it was precisely the West Ukrainians with their undeniable talent for organization and their picked troops who had made possible for him the unprecedented fight for freedom. In return the Poles promised him the formation of a new East Ukrainian state under their patronage. On April 17, 1920 Pilsudski's divisions and the faithful followers of Petliura set out for the east, and, as a matter of fact, they reached Kiyev. Petliura's troops were the bait with which they endeavored to catch the West Ukrainians fighting on the side of the Bolsheviks; they actually succeeded in catching them. A large number of West Ukrainians who had become Bolsheviks went over to the Poles and were disarmed. The Bolsheviks took this occasion to shoot the officers of the Ukrainian divisions that have remained faithful to them.

Polish rule in Kiyev lasted only five weeks, until June eleventh. Then Budienny followed close on the heels of the Poles, as he did previously on Denikin's troops. The honor of covering the headless retreat of the Poles with Ukrainian blood fell on Petliura. The elite of the French general staff finally halted the Russians not far from Warsaw, and then caused them to retreat. The

175 "miracle on the Vistula" took place: the Bol-
726 sheviks turned around and halted beyond the
Sbrucz.

175 At the peace negotiations in Riga the part-
ners of Andrusov met after two and a half cent-
726 uries for a partition of the Ukraine. The Rus-
728 sians conceded the Poles the western parts of
Polesia, Volhynia and Podolia, Lublin and Podlakhia
in the Riga Treaty of March 18, 1921. The protest
of Petliura who was not admitted to the negotia-
tions remained unheard. Was it blind hatred of
the Bolsheviks, a commission of the Poles or
burning patriotism, which, after this bitter dis-
appointment, again drove him across the borders
with a small band of followers? Whatever it is,
the guerilla war which the ex-dictator unleashes
in East Ukraine does not change anything in his
country's fate, which was definitively sealed at
Riga. /80/

175 Driven out of his home for the last time and
again disarmed by the Poles, he was nevertheless
726 permitted to kindle rebellions in East Ukraine
from within the Polish state. If the East
Ukrainians bled to death and the Bolsheviks had
internal difficulties, this could only please
Warsaw. When the Bolsheviks finally cruelly
quelled these uprisings - according to accounts
in the Communist of February 23, 1923, 6000 groups
of rebels were discovered and destroyed in 1921 -,
Petliura, the ally of Pilsudski at the conquest
of Kiyev, was now merely a troublesome foreigner
in Poland. As such he was banished. /Facing page
728 80/ /Map V: The Ukraine Before the First World
War (1914). At the end of the eighteenth century
631 the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom disintegrated. From
that time on the main part of the Ukraine belonged
to the Czar's realm. Parts of West Ukraine in
so-called East Galicia and Bukovina, along with
Chernovtsy went to Austria, Ukrainian territory
in the Carpathians to Hungary./ /Key inside map:
-.-.-. National boundaries. ...Provincial boundar-

[Ruthenians]

728 ies in Austria and boundaries of the various gub-
631 ermyas in Russia./

/81/

Fair Play

186 In the winter of 1938/39 the Ukrainian peasants in Poland were no longer recognizable. If after the pacification of 1930 they went about for many years bent and timid like beaten dogs, they now carried their heads higher. It was as though they felt a fresh breeze, and whenever they had business with Polish officials they omitted expressions of due respect, in fact they became cynical. They stood around in groups, talked in the most animated fashion, nudged each other meaningfully and sometimes laughed out loud.

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642 What happened? Since the end of October 1938, there was the "Carpatho-Ukrainian autonomy" beyond the Carpathians. There on the southern slopes of the Carpathians live the Ukrainian tribes of Lemki, Boyki and the Huzul. On poor soil they eke out a precarious living as small farmers, woodsmen and shepherds. In the warmer season many of them hire themselves out as harvest workers in the fertile Hungarian lowlands, and there they also trade in carriage grease. Before the First World War they shipped salt to Warsaw and fruit even as far as Moscow. Ruthenia, as their little country was once called, always belonged to the Kingdom bearing the crown of Stephen. After the downfall of the Hapsburg monarchy Czech insatiability succeeded in having "Carpatho-Russia" - that is what Ruthenia was now called - assigned to the Czechs by the edict of Saint-Germain. The "autonomy" which the little country was promised on paper in the edict remained an unfulfilled dream for its inhabitants. "Carpatho-Russia" was a province abounding in forests, which Prague could and would exploit. It was only after the solution of the Sudeten

11: Obermaier--82A J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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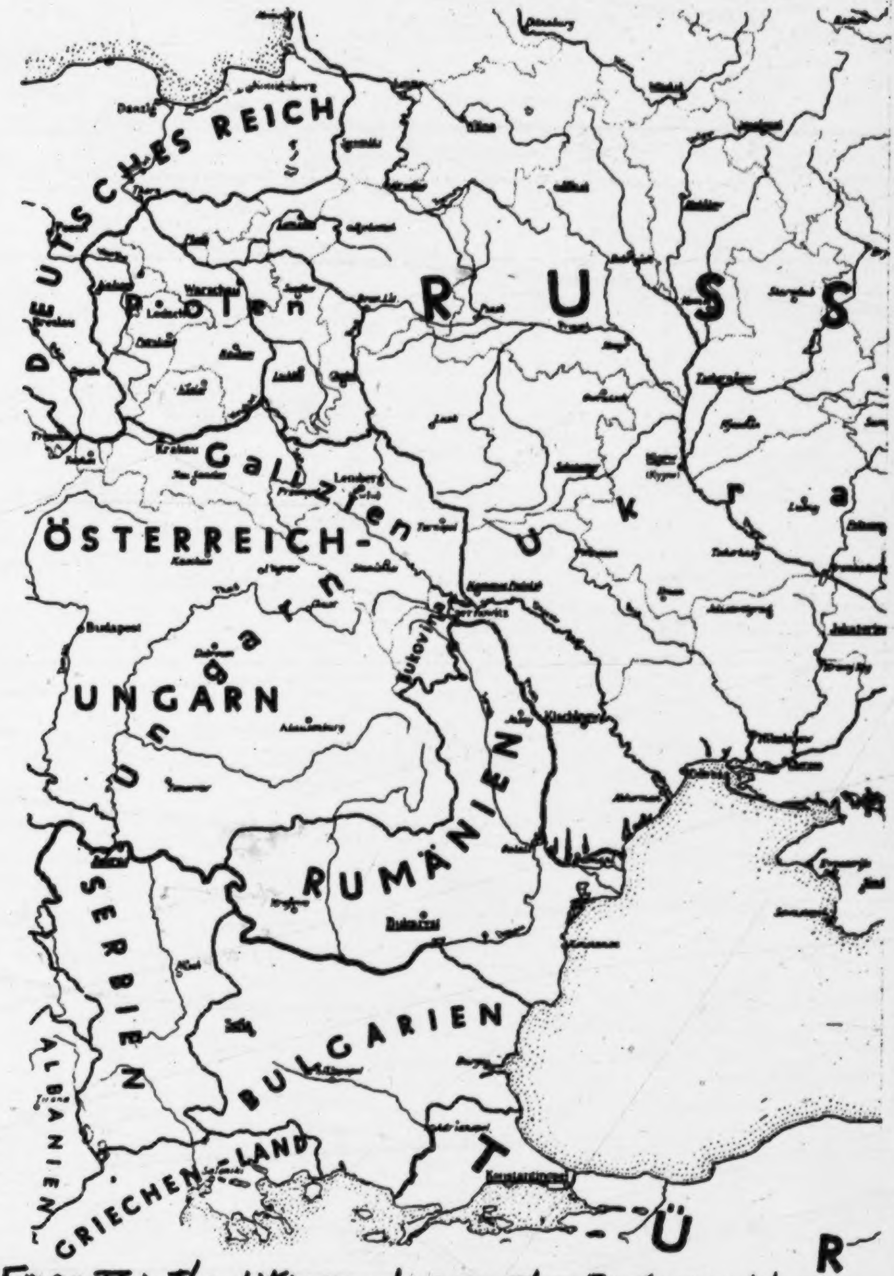
DEUTSCHES REICH
RUSS
Polen
Danzig
Warschau
Krakau
Galizien
Lemberg
ÖSTERREICH-UNGARN
Budapest
UNGARN
Bukovina
Ukra
Kischinew
RUMÄNIEN
Bukarest
SERBIEN
BULGARIEN
ALBANIEN
GRIECHENLAND
Konstantinopel
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[Map V: The Ukraine before the First World War (1914), cf. complete Legend, pp. 81-82]

11: Obermaier--82B J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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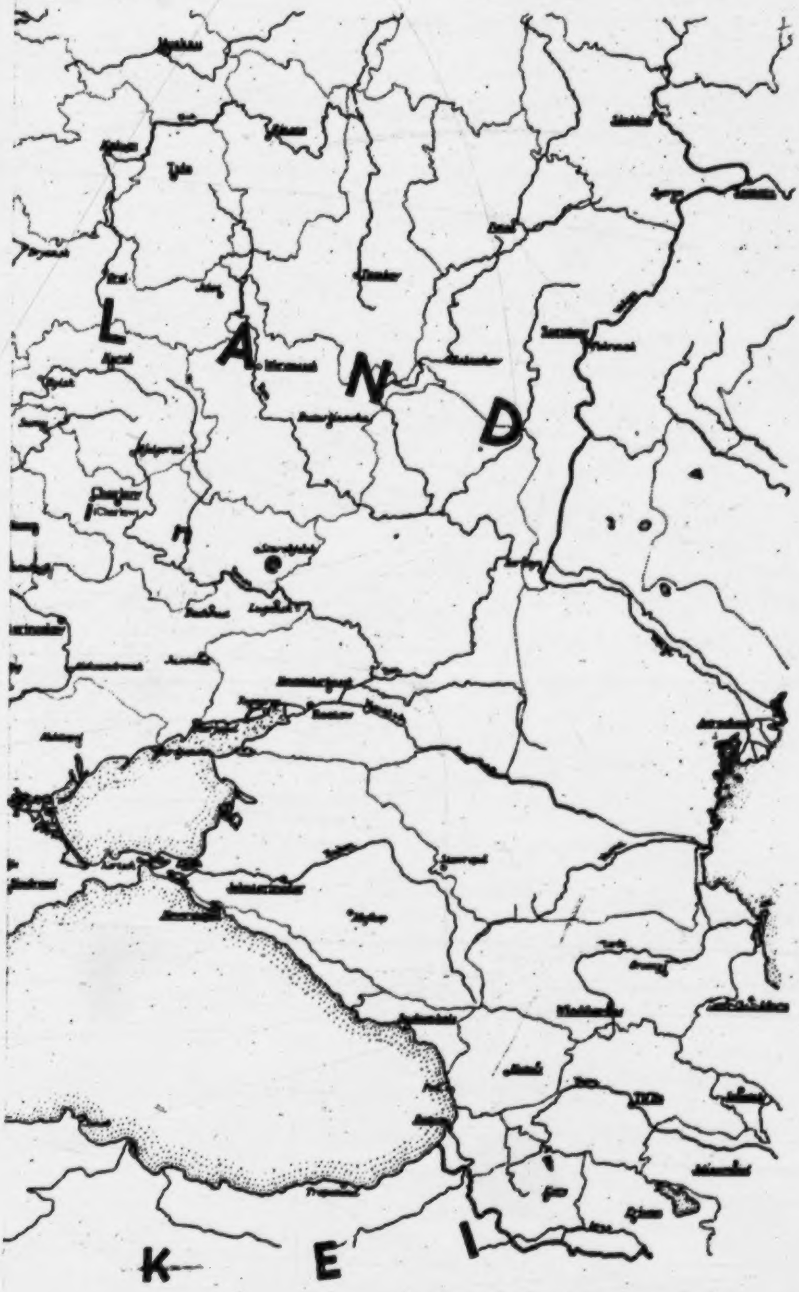

[Map V the Ukraine before the First World War (1914)]

[Ruthenians]

101 642 crisis when the centralistic /82/power of the Czechs slackened and the Slovaks stubbornly insisted on their autonomy, that the "Carpatho-Ukrainians" - this is the name they henceforth adopted - were also granted a certain autonomy.

186 This seeming independence, nothing more than a weak, short-lived light which the Hungarian storm was to blow out only a few months later, in March 1939, sufficed, however to nourish vigorously the hopes of West Ukrainians north of the Carpathians. Therefore Carpatho-Ukrainian autonomy was more important to them than sunshine and rain. This was the great event which they were discussing and on account of which they even neglected their fields. Just as all Ukrainians from the Kuban to the Carpathians honor the same heroes in their common folksongs, the seafarers of the Rus and the Cossacks of the sech, just as they shared the experience and the suffering of the wars of liberation between 1917 and 1923, so they now regarded as their own good fortune the fact that a piece of land, if only a small one, was apparently under independent Ukrainian administration.

In Ruska Lane and on the "Ring" in Lwów the newly-awakened Ukrainian self-awareness made itself felt in demonstrations. In the middle of October and the beginning of November 1938, the Ukrainians of Lwów protested against the foes of the "Silver Land". Not only in the Galician metropolis, but also in Przemysl, in Stryj, in all of West Ukrainia, the Ukrainians mustered: cries of abuse against Poland and cries of "Slava Ukrajini!" - "Glory to - the Ukraine!" - were heard, and the national anthem was repeated innumerable times. It did not cool the hot passions to have Poles on these occasions beat to death a few Ukrainians or shoot them down. The fever of hope that they might shake off Polish domination seized them. Ukrainian daily papers filled their front pages exclusively with reports from Carpatho-Ukraine.

11: Obermaier--84 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1
[Volhynia] [Ruthenia]

186 Nothing happened there which their special report-
ers did not describe in detail. In neighboring
Volhynia which, for easier Polonization, was
separated from Galicia by a Chinese wall, /83/
and where Ukrainian newspapers from Lwów were for-
bidden, people paid two zloty, the equivalent of
186 two marks, for the smuggled papers. Radios were
208 much in demand[1] and the cooperatives which ordin-
arily sold shoelaces, underwear and soap, were
suddenly supposed to furnish radio sets. The
members wanted it. They brought their zloty, and
when these did not suffice they paid in chickens
and eggs. Half the village listened to the reports
from a friendly broadcasting station in the Ukrain-
ian language, picked up by a common receiving set.
The people did not mind at all that they were
obliged to stand or squat as close together as
sardines in a can.

The "audition" cost five groschen which
amounts to two and one-half pfennig. Anyone who
had no money paid with an egg for news taken from
the ether. What they heard on these occasions were
sometimes their own wish-dreams. The autonomous
government, which set up its residence first in
Uzhgorod and then, until the country's reintegra-
tion into Hungary, in Khust, had great plans. The
listeners discussed this with great animation.

648 The peasants who could write set down on
186 paper the result of long deliberation about exist-
208 ing conditions as well as their wishes for the
future, in the form of letters and sent them to
the Polish President as well as to the Carpatho-
Ukrainian Prime Minister Voloshyn and to a foreign
statesman from whom they hoped to get help. Most
of these letters got only as far as the office of
648 the voivode. Thereupon Poland's fist became day
by day more oppressive. The autonomy of the
neighboring small country, however meager it was,
was a violent shock to Polish power. Warsaw
desired the quickest possible disappearance of
Carpatho-Ukraine. On December third the head of

[1] [i.e., 1938-39 among the Ukrainians in Volhynia - Awly.]

[Ruthenia]

648 the "Camp of National Unity", General Skwarszynski, said in the Sejm: /the Polish parliament/ "... The common boundary with Hungary as a Danubian state and as a people traditionally friendly to us, corresponds not only to our feelings, but also to our interests. Therefore Hungary's aim to /84/ obtain Carpatho-Ukraine must be energetically supported by our foreign policy." The 196 648 speaker of the Ukrainian Parliament Mudryj protested against this Polish policy[1] at the same meeting: "We must not forget that the Ukrainian people, on the basis of common blood, common tradition and a common spirit feels itself to be a unified national organism, regardless of what state it lives in and under what governments it falls. No power will crush this feeling of national unity." (48)

48. "Osteuropa", January issue, 1931, page 260.

When Mudryj referred to the devastation caused by the "diversional detachments" in Carpatho-Ukraine, he was silenced.

000 Poland had a bad conscience. The Carpatho-Ukrainian question, unimportant though it was, made it nervous. The great power grew unsure of itself and from old habit tried to set force against the right to live. According to the Polish political thesis only "another dialect" is to separate the Ukrainians from the Poles. If one took away their Greek Orthodox religion and their Cryillic script, they would differ from the Poles merely by reason of their dialect.

197 However, the Ukrainians have changed tremendously since the days when Emperor Joseph II said, at the end of his journey through Galicia, which was freed after hundreds of years of Polish domination: "The peasant is an unfortunate creature possessing nothing but a human exterior and physical life." In the 150 years that Vienna was their capital, the Ukrainians experienced an ex-

[1] [i.e., 1935-39, to aid Hungary to obtain Carpatho-Ukraine - [illegible]]

11: Obermaier--86 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1
[Ruthenia]

177 traodrinary national, economic and cultural advance, and the war of liberation from 1918 to 1919 became indelibly fixed in their national consciousness. Volhynia, too, awakened as a nation.

186 648 N wonder, then, that after a mock autonomy was granted by the Polish parliament on September 22, 1922 - in accordance with the request of the Supreme Council of June 25, 1919 - and after the conference of the Parisian emissary /85/ of March 15, 1923, which adjudicated Galicia to the Poles, no wonder that the Ukrainians in Poland have continued to fight against Warsaw's rule with other means. The Ukrainians are helpless against drastic measures such as the introduction of Polish civilian administration or the closing of Ukrainian schools. They suffer national losses especially in the parcelling of large estates, which brings new Polish settlers into the overpopulated country and which leaves the Ukrainian small farmer out in the cold. The Poles have already succeeded in pushing back the western Ukrainian boundary by about thirty kilometers; they are successfully Polonizing Polesia where, because of the extreme backwardness and poverty of the inhabitants, hunger is a stronger motivating power than anything else. In 1905 the Ukrainians already lost 250,000 citizens in Lublin, which was then Russian, and which, after the first World War, became Polish. These people who were forcibly converted to the orthodox faith in 1870 went over to the Roman Catholic Church 35 years later; for their return to the Greek Catholic Church to which they had belonged before that was denied them. But becoming Roman Catholic means becoming Polonized. Once the Polish clergyman has set foot in a town, he is soon followed by the teacher, Polish societies are founded and the village is isolated from the Ukrainian neighborhood as from the area of infection.

11: Obermaier--87 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

[Galicia]* [Volhynia]

Galicia and Volhynia bore the main burden of 668 the struggle of nationalities. The fight was carried on in a legal manner through self-supporting organizations such as economic cooperative societies, private schools and societies of public interest, and illegally through revolutionary secret organizations threatening the state. The first of these secret societies was the "Ukrainian Military Organization" (UVO). Its members were primarily soldiers of the former West Ukrainian army. A second sabotage organization, that of the Communists, worked hand in glove with the UVO. The UVO was /86/ dissolved in 1928 by Polish agents, which was not a particularly clever achievement, considering the poverty of its members. The same happened to the Ukrainian Communists at the hands of delegated Jews who acted upon orders from the Warsaw office of the Komintern. Meanwhile a new terroristic secret society had been formed, the "Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists" (OUN), which has caused the Polish authorities the greatest concern, especially since October 1938. All attempts to dissolve the OUN from within or to neutralize it by creating groups of Polonophiles have failed. Elements that could be bought were often enough obliged to pay for their treason with death.

Two years after the founding of the OUN* in 668 late summer of 1930, the farms and estates of Polish settlers in Galicia went up in flames and 579 in some places the harvest burned up in the fields. Also, telegraph wires were cut. Since it was hard to sell grain, Polish landowners used the terrorist methods of the OUN in individual regions as an excuse to collect insurance fraudulently; they set fire to their own buildings. The answer of the Poles to the wave of sabotage of the OUN* 558 can be read between the lines of the petition of 60 members of the British House of Commons to the

*[i.e., Ukrainian Terroristic Secret Society - Analyst]

11: Obermaier--88 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1
[Galicia] [Volhynia]

558 League of Nations: "With special reference to recent uprisings in East Galicia, we recognize the right and the necessity of the Polish government to maintain order within its boundaries. However, we should like to point out the fact which, coinciding as it does with an eye-witness account, seems indisputable, namely, that penal expeditions were sent out to at least 700 villages, even though against the majority of them no evidence of terroristic or unconstitutional action could be produced, that hundreds of men, women and children were beaten - some of the procedures were so cruel that the victims were bedridden for weeks thereafter, some were crippled for life and some were killed. Thousands of people were arrested and many libraries, clubs /87/ and cooperative shops were plundered and destroyed. The fourteenth cavalry regiment in particular seems to have loosed its reins in the villages; they punished the peasants indiscriminately. These actions against the Ukrainian minority seem to be a violation of Article One which states: 'Poland agrees to guarantee all inhabitants without distinction as to birth, nationality, language, race or religion, full and complete protection of life and liberty...'"

An investigation on the spot by the International Women's League showed the following: "...One terrible feature of the whole procedure was the refusal to grant medical attention to the victims. The doctors were forbidden to leave the cities and go into the villages. The peasants who undertook to travel to the cities for medical treatment were sent back by the police. In many cases the wounds became gangrenous and death or lifelong suffering were the results." The Chicago Daily News observed at that time: "Under the guidance of an iron hand Poland is steering toward its magnificent future." (49)

49. Quoted by Svystun: Ukraine, the Poorest Spot of Europe, pages 32, 20, 26.

11: Obermaier--89 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

[Galicia] [Volhynia]

668 The Ukrainians bowed to Polish supremacy in helpless inward wrath. They again covered with straw the torn-up roofs of their houses and they built new libraries to replace the ones that had burned, new dairy farm equipment in place of that which had been destroyed. When in 1934 there was a danger of national Ukrainian institutions being abolished, as well as cooperatives, schools, general educational institutions and so forth, the largest Ukrainian party, the "Ukrainian National Democratic Association" (UNDO), whose members ran the cooperatives, decided to give up the opposition against Warsaw and to begin a "policy of normalization". The UNDO became "loyal" in return for which it received seventeen parliamentary mandates. This did not prevent it, however, from calling attention in the very first session of the Sejm to the Polish Law of Autonomy of 1922, and to continue to point this out at the beginning of each new session of the Sejm. Besides the /88/ representatives of the UNDO, there were two other representatives of the clerical group of the Bishop of Stanislav, Khomyshyn, who tried to represent Ukrainian interests in the Sejm. The remaining Ukrainian parties were not admitted to the elections and in turn boycotted them.

The period of normalization of Ukrainian-Polish relations lasted not even four years; this policy was not popular among the Ukrainians. The old hatred between the two nations broke out anew the moment the Carpatho-Ukrainians won their autonomy. Under pressure of public opinion, the UNDO was obliged to go over again to the opposition. "The policy of normalization brought no results because it was not adhered to by the Poles. The Poles trample on their own constitutional laws. Their constitution guarantees to all citizens equal rights and privileges before the law. But in practice there is no equality. It is almost out of the question for Ukrainians to be admitted to official posts, either in the postal system or on

[Galicia] [Volhynia]

668 railways or in the courts, to say nothing of their being made officers in the army. Private enterprises controlled by the state operate on the same principle. Of the 4000 Ukrainian teachers, one-fourth of them are scattered outside the Ukrainian national territory. Three-quarters of our intellectuals are unemployed. There is the additional fact that it is made impossible for our peasants to acquire land; even in cases where there is a partitioning of a large Ukrainian estate, the land is sold to Polish colonists. Our national banks and cooperatives get practically no credit and the little money lent to us is on a short-term basis. Moreover, the Polish government has created two frontier zones from which it can banish every Ukrainian without stating its reasons. In these frontier zones the voivode is sole ruler. Even the district captain can at any time dispossess any priest, teacher or a cooperative official whom he suspects of being nationalistic. In the end, the present

728 /Facing page 88/ /Map VI: Ukraine in the Years 1917-20. At the end of the first World War the Ukrainian People's Republic was created and lasted for a short time. Finally, after involved struggles against three fronts, the Poles in the West, the Bolsheviks in the North and East and the troops of the reactionary generals Denikin and Wrangel, it perished./ /Keys inside: ▨ Region of the Ukrainian state. ▤ Temporary annexes. ┴┴┴┴ Boundaries of territory occupied by Ukrainian nationals. -·- Boundaries of the predominantly Ukrainian zone./ /89/ appeasement actions which are being carried out exactly after the 1930 pattern, will force us to give up the normalization policy." (50)

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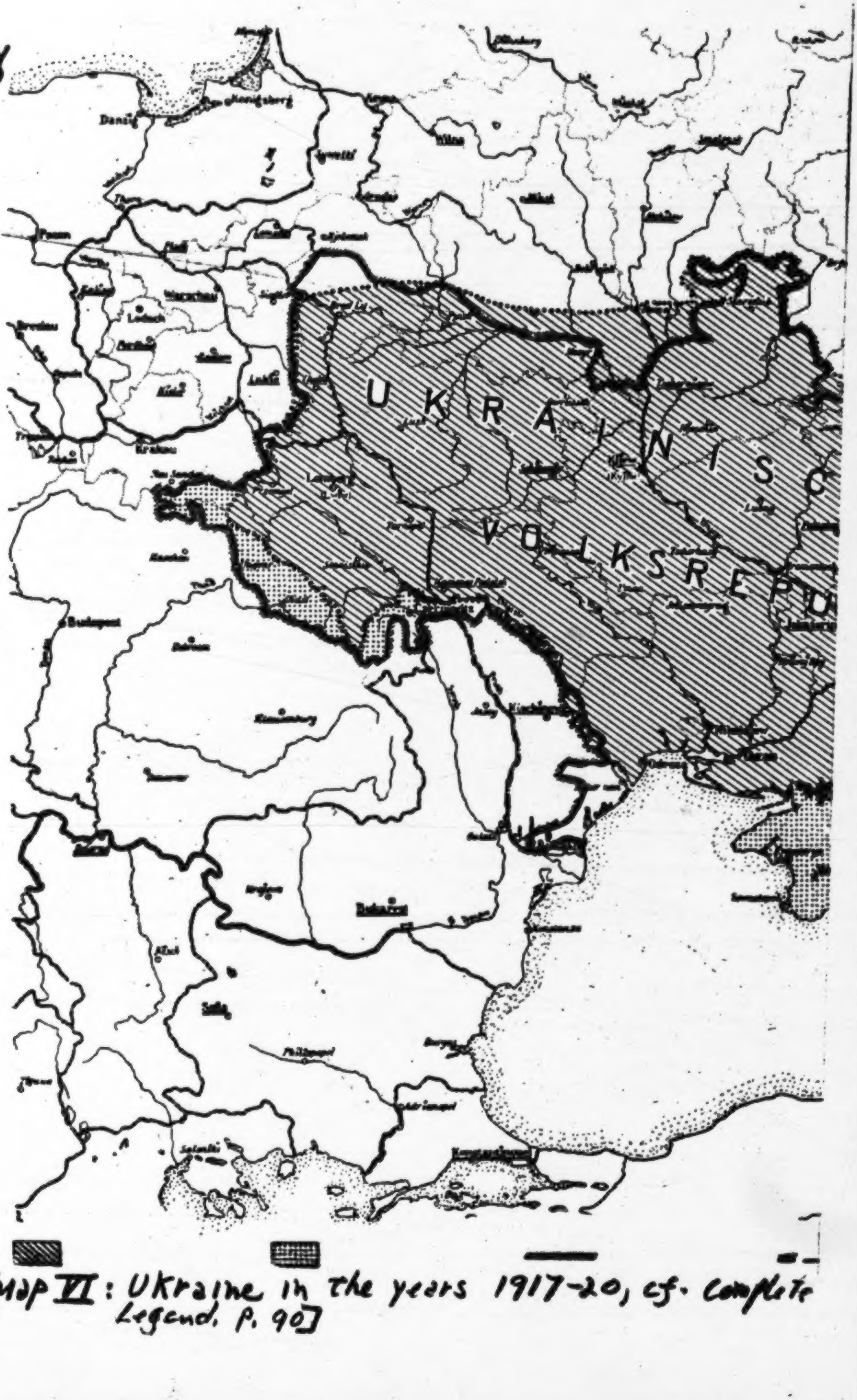
50. Statements made by a leading member of the UNDO party in February, 1939.

11: Obermaier--90A J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1


Danzig
Königsberg
Wilna
Posen
Warschau
Lodsch
Breslau
Krakau
UKRAINISC
VOLKSREPU
Budapest
Bukarest
Sofia
Philippopel
Adrianopel
Saloniki
Konstantinopel

[Map VI: Ukraine in the years 1917-20, cf. complete Legend. p. 90]

11: Obermaier--90B J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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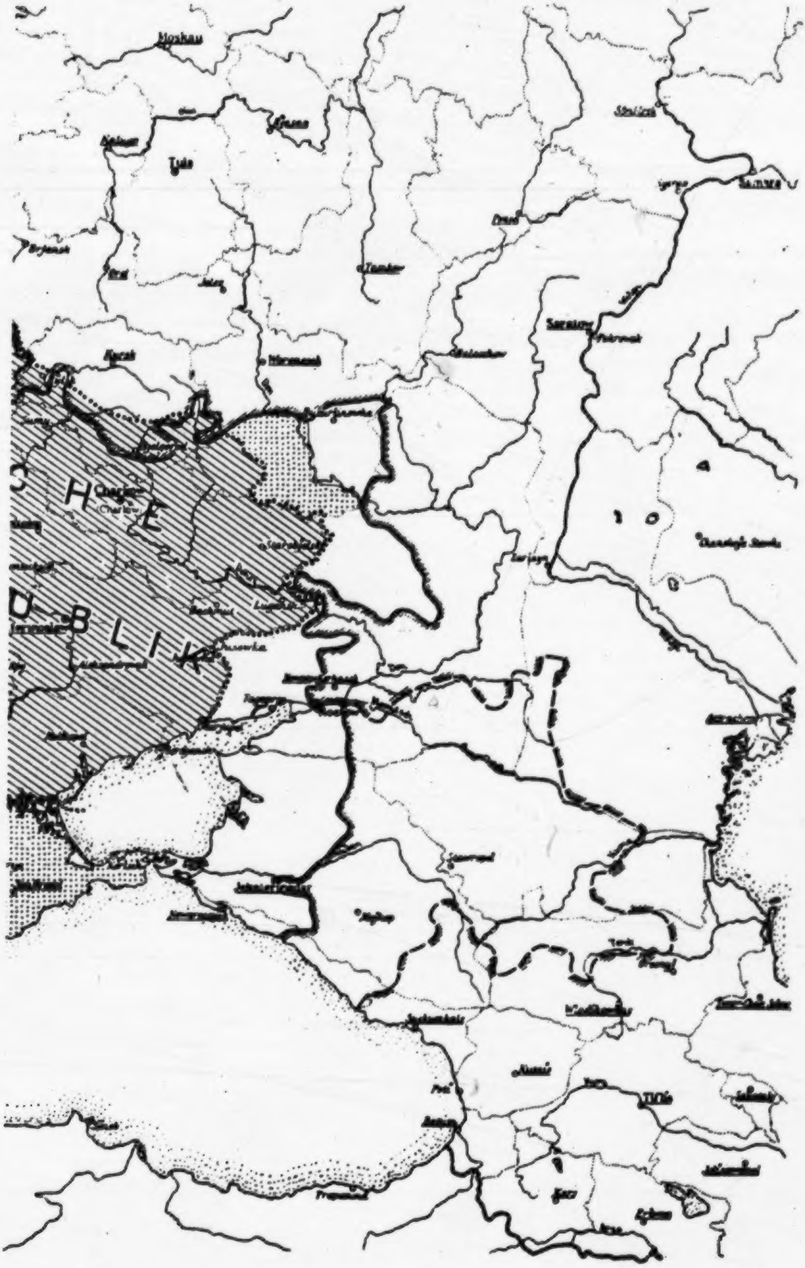
Moskau
Tula
Orel
Kursk
Tambow
Woronesch
Saratow
Samara
Charkow
(Charkiw)
C H E
U B L I K

[Map VI: Ukraine in the years 1917-20]

11: Obermaier--91 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

[Galicia] [Volhynia]

668 The least that the UNDO had to do after the establishment of Carpatho-Ukrainian autonomy was to formulate the nature of Ukrainian claims to autonomy. At the beginning of December 1938, the proposal for autonomy signed by fifteen representatives was introduced into the Sejm under the title of: "Constitution of the Province of Halicz-Volhynia". According to the title, the proposal refers to the principality of Halicz-Volhynia of the 13th and 14th century. Territorially all areas inhabited by a Ukrainian majority were to belong to the "Province of Halicz-Volhynia", that is to say, East Galicia, Volhynia, Polesia as well as parts of the voivodeship of Lublin, Bialystok and Cracow. According to this, the autonomous territory would have included about one-third of Poland and contained nine million inhabitants. The aim of autonomy was to be "full political equality with the Polish people and the free cultural and economic development of the Ukrainian people within the boundaries of Poland". The proposal provided for the formation of a legislative diet and a provincial office at Lwów. The laws made by the Ukrainian diet were not to extend to external affairs, the army, the national budget and taxes, currency, customs, postal system, communication systems and matters concerning citizenship and the national police. The proposal was so modest that in practice the Ukrainians were to make laws pertaining only to the school system and judicial affairs. But even these minimal demands were refused by Warsaw with the written reply that the proposal is of such a nature that it changes the constitution and would in this case have to be supported by one-fourth of all the representatives.

As early as December 1938, the Ratification Committee of the UNDO, decided in spite of the rejection, to continue the struggle for autonomy. In a subsequent session in April 1939 /90/, the party which was obliged to steer between the Scylla

[Galicia] [Volhynia]

668 of Polish agitation for dissolution and the Charybdi of Ukrainian nationalism, declared itself willing to work with Poland provided autonomy was granted and a status of "legal competence" was established. On May ninth the UNDO in the Sejm adopted the authorization law for the president of the state, in order not to give Poland an excuse for dissolving the cooperatives.

558 In the summer of 1939 the Polish-Ukrainian relationship resembled a sort of guerilla war. Here and there a house was set on fire, a bullet through a window found its victim, Polish colonists or officials were driven out of a village, a police raid was shot down - and in turn, the Polish bayonets raged mercilessly. To take only two cases at random: on May 8, 1939 Ukrainian representatives in the Sejm placed an interpellation before the Minister of the Interior, according to which the Polish police had seriously injured 16 persons, among them 8 women and girls, with blows administered with the butt end of a gun, at a funeral in an East Galician village. On the same day police officials in the district of Polyana killed a Ukrainian peasant and an eleven-year-old boy by shooting. Several Ukrainians were injured. In a second interpellation there was a complaint that in Libukhora in East Galicia a first lieutenant, a sergeant major and a soldier coerced by means of blows, the cashier and acting head of the Ukrainian library to burn the library which consisted of 300 volumes. On May ninth the Polish Prime Minister, General Skladovski, replied to another Ukrainian interpellation of April twenty-ninth. There were three incidents mentioned: a military assault on the dwelling of the Ukrainian pastor Tustanovich in Komarnyky, a military attack in Zalisci on 63 Ukrainians who were maltreated, and the maltreatment by the police of 17 Ukrainian peasants in Cholhyni. In all three cases the Polish Premier's answers were evasive.

11: Obermaier--93 J-3(no date)1942 RDl Ukraine RDl

/91/ [Galicia] Self-Aid [Volhynia]

555 Galicia and Volhynia are parts of the ghetto
of the world, lying between Cracow and Odessa.
There is no question about the fact that anyone
who can here compete commercially with the Jews
and politically with the Poles has certain abili-
ties. The Ukrainians of Galicia have a talent
for organization. If their business methods are
often primitive according to our conceptions, it
555 is not their fault. Where proper money is scarce,
[436] as is the case among all small peasants of the
East and Southeast, it is replaced by some market-
476 able goods: people unhesitatingly deal in eggs.
Ukrainian cooperatives tried very hard to change
these conditions; they were equally adept in
ancient barter as in international business in-
volving clearing and regulations pertaining to
payments and foreign exchange.

Jews and cooperatives waged a bitter fight
against each other. But where usury and chain
businesses of ill repute flourish, cooperatives
[452] have an easy time of it. Before the First World
War the usurers demanded a 100% interest. Now
they say: "I am giving you money; good, - but
you must sell me your calves, your geese, your
chickens and your eggs." For a zentner of seed
they demand two zentner of produce from the harvest.
In the gin shops they manage to obtain, by fraud-
ulent means, the best pastures of the Huzul
country, only to rent them to the former owners.
If the cooperative makes its way into such villages
which are under Jewish domination, it soon has
the peasants on its side, and since no one buys
from the Jew, no one sells to him and his inn is
avoided, he must sooner or later pack up his
belongings. /92/

For the Ukrainians the Jewish problem is a
563 problem of food. Wherever people have ambitions
and where they desire to improve their basic
way of living, they run up against Jews. Jews

[Galicia] [Volhynia] European Jews E14

U 563 are found in the villages and cities, everywhere except at hard peasant labor. E.J. 162 As early as 1900, 74% of all Jews earning a livelihood in Russia, Poland and Galicia were in commerce, in the credit system, in crafts and in industry. In 1931 there [U 463] were 158,400 Jews living in villages in East Galicia alone, that is 3% of the people living in the country; in the cities, on the other hand, there were 454,900 Jews or 37.3% of the urban population. (51) In 1929 the various trades were 50% in the hands of Jews, and in Volhynia a total of 73% of all tailors, shoemakers, tanners, bakers, furriers, blacksmiths, watchmakers and other artisans were Jews.

U 563 In spite of the fact that the Ukrainians lived in such close proximity to Jews, they kept their cultural life free of Jewish influence and their race free from Jewish blood.

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U 476 "More important than selling and profit is the community which has become happy and morally strong as a result of proper training by means of cooperative work and self-aid." These words were not, as might be supposed, spoken at a major assembly of German cooperatives; they were coined at Lwów by the head of the Ukrainian cooperatives. They were addressed to the West Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian cooperatives were of unusual national significance; they improved the wretched condition of the peasants and educated the latter to think in terms of the common welfare; and they offered to Ukrainian intelligentsia a real, albeit meager possibility of existence. U 162 How can conditions in the country be anything but miserable if 60% of the peasants own dwarf farms with less than

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51. Seraphim, Jewry in East European Area, p. 340.

162 five hectares of land, if overpopulation is so great that in 49% of the country there are between 80 and 100 /93/ people and in 51% there are more than 100 persons per square kilometer. (52)

52. Kubiyovich: The Distribution of the Population, page 35.

476 The ideological center of the Ukrainian cooperative system was the "Revised Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives" with its center in Lwów. At the beginning of 1939 it controlled the four departmental provincial centers with a total of 3455 cooperatives and 673,000 members. The four departmental centers were the "Centrobanka" for credit cooperatives (1889 members at the end of 1938, with an annual sale of 70.5 million zloty); the "Centrosoyuz" for the agricultural buying and selling cooperatives, the "Maslosoyuz" for dairy farmers' cooperatives and the "Narodnya Torgovlia" for urban consumer societies. The private capital of the Revised Union amounted to 23 million zloty at the end of 1938, the savings came to over 12 million zloty. The sales receipts of all cooperatives amounted to 159 million zloty.

One is almost tempted to speak of a "Ukrainian autarchy" if one hears how much business the buying and selling cooperatives carried on. Galicia and
[241] particularly Podolia with its rich black earth and sheltered valleys is rich in fruit, vegetables, legumes, hemp, grain. Cattle-raising is also
[233] intensively carried on, especially in the Carpathian foreland. The peasant brought all these products to the cooperative which was ready to serve him and not to profit by him. The cooperatives maintained collection and sorting centers where the products were turned into "standardized" goods. The same cooperative furnished practically everything a farm household needed: shoes, chicory, sugar, kerosene, headgear, candles, seeds, artificial fertilizer and machines. Much of it

476 was made in the cooperative society's own factories. The society owned cement factories, lime plants, mills, cloth-weaving factories, bakeries, oil presses and even a factory that made boot polish and cosmetics.

439 Whither did Ukrainian goods go? Peas, beans and poultry to England and Belgium, clover seed to Holland, /94/ pigs to Germany, beef cattle via Constanta to Greece, poultry to Germany, Switzerland and to - Palestine, eggs to many countries and, in cans, as far as Buenos Aires.

[565] Sociologically noteworthy is the growth of an urban stratum of artisans, merchants and small industrialists. The Ukrainians who, much to their 369 own disadvantage, neglected the cities because of 476 their love for quiet village life, now gradually pushed into the cities, and the credit cooperatives supported them in this.

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741 Of greatest significance for the advancement of Ukrainian culture were the societies for edu- 517 cation and public health. The society for popular 217 education, "Prosvita", was even older than the Ukrainian system of cooperatives, reaching back to 1883. It was a veritable national sanctuary of the Ukrainians. The people are indebted to it for a large part of their cultural advance. The "Prosvita" was an actual school for advanced studies in the country. In 3214 village libraries with 700,000 volumes, two instructive monthly magazines and with inexpensive editions of books, it enabled the village inhabitants who were cut off from all urban culture to obtain the knowledge which alone made it possible for them to assert themselves against their enemies. Besides that, 741 "Prosvita", which on January 1, 1938 numbered 517 360,000 members, and owned 1457 club houses with rooms for meetings, promoted group singing, music, the community theater and folk art. It helped

741 517 illiterates to learn to read by means of special courses, and it gave scholarships to worthy students. So, it is not surprising that the Poles did not care for the "Prosvita". Thus in the last ten years all of the 600 local groups in Polesia and Volhynia and 70% of all local groups west of the Shan were dissolved. In 1938 Warsaw intensified its war against the "Prosvita"; in that year 104 local groups /95/ were dissolved and in the first five months of 1939 the same happened even to two district centers with 168 local groups. In spite of that, the Ukrainians organized 375 new local groups from 1936 to 1938.

575 874 Peasants and agriculturists numbering 160,000 united in the "Silskyj Hospodar" ("farmer") in order to arrange for or to obtain agricultural training. The "Silskyj Hospodar" employed approximately 150 social agronomists, that is, agriculturists with diplomas, who supervised improvement of the soil, methods of cultivating, seed production and whole farm establishments. They conducted courses and competitions in which the young farmers who were eager for knowledge actively participated. Special veterinarians of the society and of the dairy farm cooperatives supervised the livestock.

562 575 The Ukrainian women of Galicia were anxious not to be second to the men. Their society "Soyuz Ukrayinok" numbered 60,000 members in 1200 village circles. In the national life of the people the Ukrainian woman occupies a high position, as is the case among all healthy races. In times of national misfortune the mothers are the preservers of the old manners and customs; the children learn the language and the traditional songs from their mothers, to whom the rising generations are entrusted. Their glowing patriotism is not surpassed by the men. At the same time the West Ukrainian woman is deeply religious and tirelessly industrious; she excels in the household.

000 Everything in West Ukraine is education work.

11: Obermaier--98 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

Everything in West Ukraine is education work.

462 The woman, too, is brought up in order to play her
512 part properly within the family: she must see
515 to it that everyone eats from his own plate, that everyone sleeps in his own bed - not eight on a wide chest -, that clothing is taken off at night and that shirts are changed; airing the rooms is not to be forgotten, and it is unhealthy for children not to get out of the house a single time the whole winter long. Fresh air does no harm. But where to get the shoes and warm clothes for the little ones?

575 A further, very important society was the
871 "Ridna /96/ Shkola" ("National School"). It closed the worst gaps which the Poles had hewn into the Ukrainian school system. There were 3662 Ukrainian public schools in Galicia when the Poles took over undivided rule. In 1937/1938 there were only 496 left. All the rest of the schools were Polonized, so that in the academic year 1937/1938 only 59,300 of over one million Ukrainian school children were able to attend purely Ukrainian schools. Among 307 state secondary schools in Poland, there were only five Ukrainian classical schools in the academic year 1936/1937. All of the 1094 state technical schools were Polish and naturally also all higher institutions of learning. The means at the disposal of the "Ridna Shkola" - needless to say - were not by any means adequate to teach all Ukrainian children their mother tongue. Nevertheless, by means of the savings of its 104,000 members, it was able to maintain 540 kindergartens, 33 public schools, 12 classical schools, 11 colleges, 16 schools for specialists and professionals and 4 boarding schools. (53) The tension between Poland and the Ukraine in the

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53. Taken from the respective annual reports of the West Ukrainian cooperatives and self-aid organizations.

575 first half of 1939 threatened the educational
891 work of the "Ridna Shkola" just as it did that
of the women's society, the society of agriculturists,
the "Provista" and the cooperatives.

The efforts of the Ukrainians to raise the
871 level of popular education are admirable. When
873 at the beginning of their rule in Galicia the
Poles deprived the Ukrainians of their few professorial
chairs, the Ukrainians forthwith founded
a "Secret University" which gave its lectures
during 1922 and 1923 in private houses. At the
end of each lecture the professors who were taken
partly from universities of East Ukraine, partly
from Austrian universities, announced to their
listeners the time and place of their next lecture.
In the end this "university" collapsed and the
lecturers were arrested.

Two years after the enactment of the Ukrainian
873 law of autonomy of 1922 a Ukrainian university
178 was supposed to have been founded - but in
the summer of 1939 there was not yet a single
Ukrainian professorial chair. In Lwów a Polish
professor lectured on Ukrainian literature in the
241 Polish language, in /Facing page 96/ /Map VII:
Agricultural Zones Under Cultivation. In the
wooded zones of the north rye, oats and potatoes
predominate. In the northern zones of steppes,
wheat and sugar beets are added (winter wheat in
the west and summer wheat in the east). A third
zone on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov and in
the foreland of the Caucasus produces wheat, corn
and barley. Adjoining this toward the west there
is a corn-growing zone (with wheat in the north
and barley in the south), whereas toward the
northeast there is a zone extending to the middle
part of the Volga with summer wheat and rye.
Around the Caspian Sea is the pasture area of
desert steppes, in the mountains, woodland and
grasslands with some barley cultivation. The
cultivation of cotton which has been recently
undertaken along the coasts of the Black Sea and

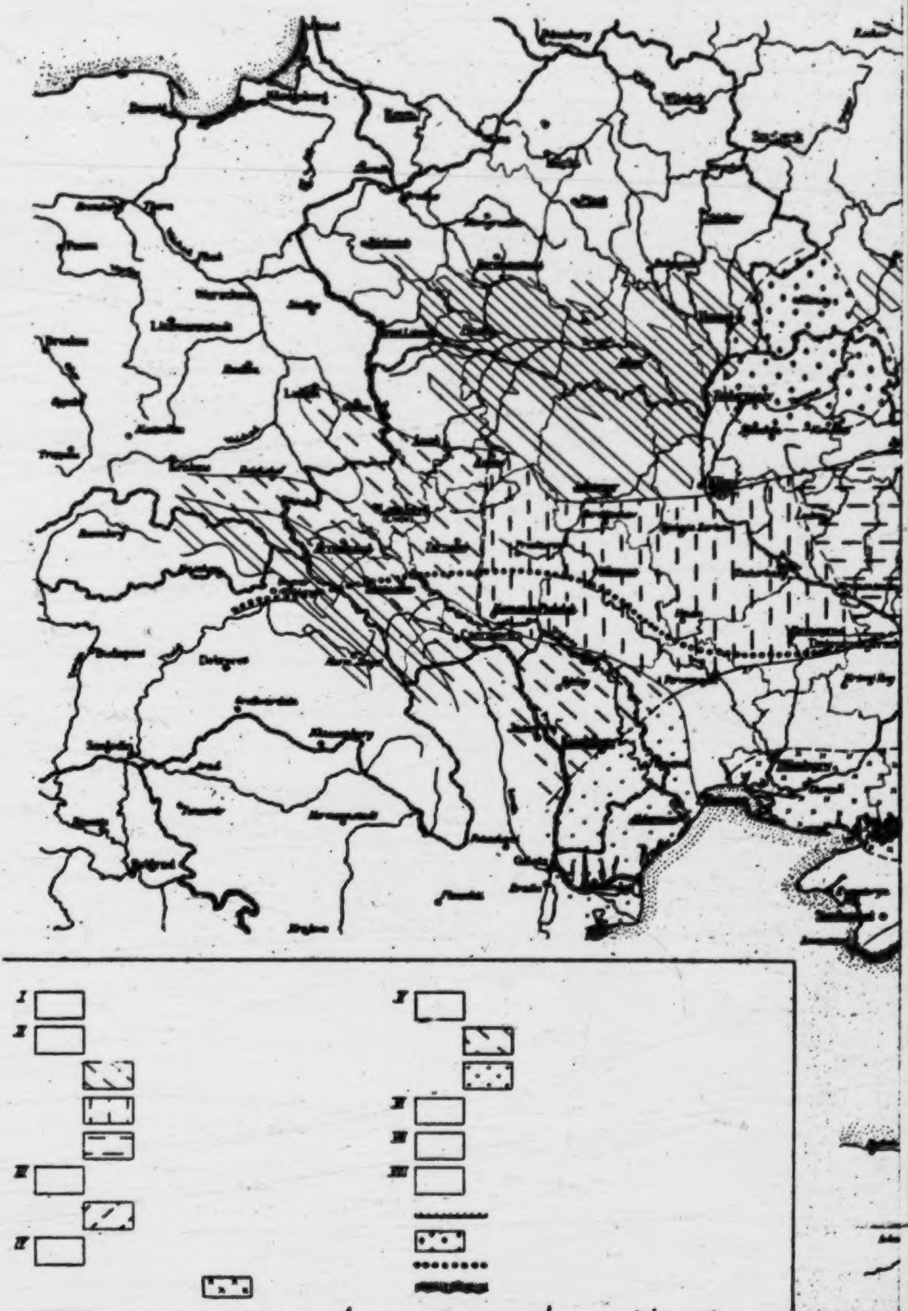
[Bukovina]

241 the Sea of Azov also deserves to be mentioned./ /Key inside map: I Rye, potato and oats region. II Wheat and rye region; sub-zone of rye, wheat, potatoes; sub-zone of rye, winter wheat, sugar beets; sub-zone of summer wheat, rye, sugar beets. III Region of wheat, barley, corn; sub-zone of winter wheat, corn, barley, sunflowers. IV Summer wheat and rye zone; cotton. V Region of corn; sub-region of corn, wheat; sub-region of corn, barley. VI Oats and potato region. VII Forest region. VIII Grassland (pastures, alpine pastures, natural meadows). ⊥⊥⊥⊥⊥ Area with abundant millet cultivation. ▦ Area with abundant buckwheat cultivation. ....Northern boundary of region growing abundant amounts of corn. 〰 Intensive horticulture./ /97/ Cracow a Ukrainian
873 professor lectured in Polish on Ukrainian liter-
178 ature, and in Warsaw Polish and Ukrainian professors lectured in Polish on Ukrainian literature and "History of the East" which meant history of the Ukraine under Polish rule. Moreover, study in Lwów was made very difficult for Ukrainian students. Warsaw wanted the Ukrainians to study in Cracow and in the capital of the country, and to have them taken out of the Ukrainian environment and drawn into the Polish one. In this connection a secret numerus clausus proved very useful: the Ukrainians, in contrast to their smarter Polish colleagues often failed.

*

101 How was the situation in Bukovina? This little country of 5000 square kilometers on the northeast slope of the Carpathians in between the three countries, Poland, Soviet Union and Rumania, was, until its transfer to the Habsburg Kingdom in 1776, purely a colonial country of the Sublime Porte. Under Austria it experienced a rapid rise, and its chief city Czernovits (now Chernovtsy) was given the epithet "Vienna of the

11: Obermaier--100A J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1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II
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MAP VII: Agricultural zones under cultivation, cf. complete Legend, pp. 99-100]

11: Obermaier--100B J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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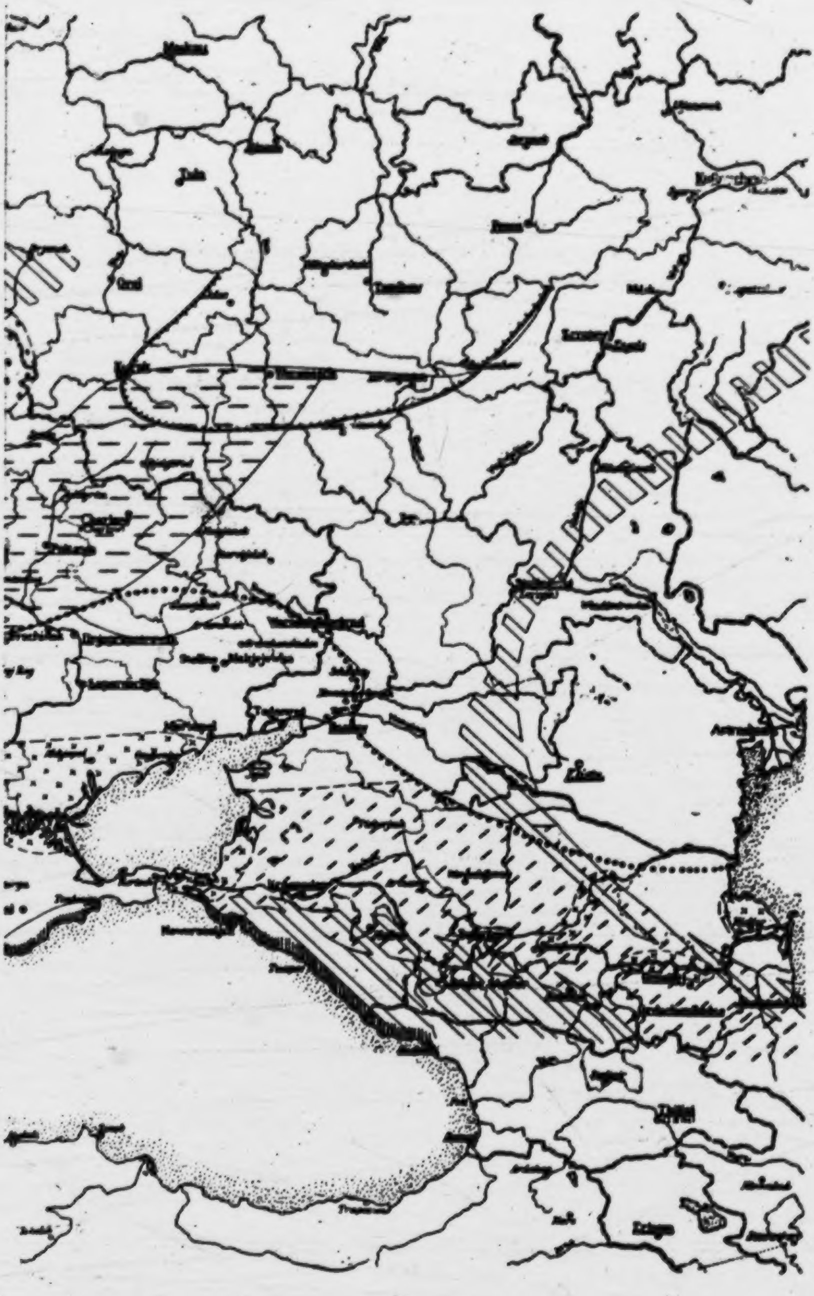

Tula
Orel
Tambow

[Map VII Agricultural zones under cultivation]

[Bukovina]

101 East". The region was very fertile, with the exception of the western part which was overgrown with beech forests. It was thickly settled by Germans, Walachians and Ukrainians. In the cities there were a great many Jews. As a result of a secret agreement between the countries of the Entente, it was transferred to Rumania August 18, 1916 and on November 11, 1916, it was occupied by troops. Up to this day the Ukrainians enjoyed practical autonomy. Neither their compatriots in Czarist Russia nor in Galicia, where the Poles, thanks to their predominance at the Viennese court, had secured the upper hand, nor in Hungarian Carpathia were in possession of so many rights and institutions as they were, beginning with the public schools and on up to university chairs and to their own government. Bukovina was the "pet" of Vienna. It could not maintain this privileged position under Rumanian domination. /98/

Merely a Poet

000 Solemn, like a religious service, was the first performance of Ukrainian concert music in the Old Municipal Theater of Lwów on a Sunday in March, 1939. Magnificent choirs of many voices swayed humbly, rose up exultantly as though heaven should hear them; light sopranos twittered, deep basses rolled, and finally the song died away like a breath of the steppes. It was a strangely moving music in an echoing language. But the world knew little about it. There was no station that might broadcast it, no disk that might reproduce it. The art of this people, talented in song and music, experiences the same fate as the manuscripts of its scholars which molder in drawers because they do not find any publishers. And yet there is tireless work going on in all fields of art and science.

The first performance was the great event which no one must miss who had a good opinion of himself.

11: Obermaier--102 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1

000 All the Ukrainian intelligentsia of Lwów and its environs, men and women, were represented, the consulates of Great Britain and France and many foreigners who love Ukrainian music - all but the Poles.

Intelligentsia - that is, students of the
577 classical schools and universities, teachers, professors, lawyers, the heads of the cooperatives, editors, writers, painters, politicians, architects, graduate agriculturists, engineers, physicians, clergymen. They were all there.* One saw remarkably many clergymen, fine men who have both feet planted firmly on Ukrainian soil. Many of them were Austrian officers in their younger days who also fought for West Ukrainian freedom. They told friends that they were prepared at any time /99/ "to exchange the cassock for a coat of mail". This is no empty talk, for most of them had already paid for their national sentiments in Polish prisons. Their metropolitan, Count Andrei Sheptyckij, is cut from the same pattern. He incurred the hatred of the Poles when he blessed the autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine and half a year later its dead. Before he was drawn to the church, he, the cavalry captain of his Majesty, hunted bears, lynxes and wild boars. The trophies from that gay time are now hanging in the anteroom of the archbishop. Today he is an old man who has been in ill health for a long time. Years ago the tall, vigorous man was often compared to Michelangelo's Moses.

Count Andrei Sheptycki was a member of the Polonized Ukrainian high nobility. Like many Polish aristocrats with Ukrainian coats of arms, his brothers belonged to the Polish szlachta; he alone found his way home to the Ukrainian people. Neither the Poles nor the Ukrainians have a dearth of nobility. In Volhynia "the 16th and 17th centuries fairly seethed with princely houses". When-
556 ever the Polish kings needed warriors for their
565 expeditions, they raised the wealthy peasants to

*[At a Ukrainian concert in Lwów, incidental to the information - Analyst]

the peerage and gave them rights and privileges 556
for which the newly-created peers were obliged to 565
pay with military service. In this way the lower szlachta increased to many hundreds of thousands of knights and barons who were often not much richer than the ordinary peasants. In the purely Polish regions and in West Ukraine there are still whole villages in which every peasant belongs to the nobility. Whoever was able to present his patent of nobility in Galicia after the partitioning of Poland was recognized as a peer by the Viennese court. In this way arose the Ritter /knights/ von Vitvicky, von Mogylnicki, von Kultshycki and whatever the rest are called.

Whereas the high nobility, with the except- 565
ion of people like the former Princes Ostrozhsky, 517
does not play any part in promoting culture in
modern times in the Ukraine, the lesser nobility 773
were for a long time practically the only bearers of Ukrainian culture. They made up the clergy almost exclusively. /100/ The pastors with their numerous children were often the only and the inexhaustible source of Ukrainian intelligentsia. Otherwise there were no intellectual professions open to the Ukrainians. Only the Catholics, that is to say, the Poles could become officials.

The Poles held to the old traditions of the
lower nobility in their "Union of village szlachta". 565
According to the latest Polish conception, the lower Ukrainian nobility are Ukrainized Poles. By promising them additional land and other material advantages, Warsaw wanted to catch the 400,000 "aristocratic souls". If this had succeeded, the Poles would have come a good deal closer to a majority in Galicia.

*

"In this cottage, in this grove 559
A hell I saw! Nothing but slavery 538
And bitter servitude, that never justice knows

539
538
Are there. No time remains for God.
There pain and sorrow
Spent my mother's strength
And drove her, young, into the grave...
And helplessly among his brood -
For we were naked then and young -
My father worked himself to death
And died a slave...And we, orphaned now,
Abandoned our little hut
And moved away..." (54)

54. Quoted from Ukrainian Literature in the Service of its Nation, page 8.

538 Taras Shevchenko is the author of this poem. With him begins a new period of progress for the Ukrainian people after the end of Cossack glory and the period of greatest decline. One of the first to lay the foundation for this development which has not yet ceased, is Ivan Kotliarevskyj with whom begins the period of modern Ukrainian literature freed from Byzantinism and religion bonds. /101/ This was toward the end of the eighteenth century. His travesty of Virgil's Aeneid appeared in 1798 and was the first work to be printed in the Ukrainian popular tongue which from then on becomes the literary language of the Ukrainians. In 1818 the first grammar [177] follows. Around this time the ideas of the German Romanticists also come in and enduringly influence the Ukrainian intellectual world. People study their native language, tradition, folklore and history and in doing so, discover a past whose richness was scarcely imagined.

But the national impulses of the Ukrainian romanticists remain a "melancholy national feeling" until, around 1840, Taras Shevchenko stirs up the slumbering spirits. "The song of this poet had truly the effect of the resurrection trumpet of the archangel." Thus Panyko Kulish, the versatile brain of the Ukrainian in-

538 tellectual world at that time, characterized the influence of Shevchenko. His landlord had had him educated as a painter in Warsaw and Petersburg. By means of a lottery, the friends of the 24-year-old artist obtained the 2500 rubles necessary to buy off a serf. Shevchenko enjoyed his freedom from 1838 to 1847. Then he was arrested in Kiyev along with many other Ukrainian poets, authors and scholars. They all belonged to the "Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood" which inscribed on its banner the federation of all Slavic republics on a democratic basis. Taras Shevchenko was exiled to ten years of labor on a fortress in the Kirghiz steppes. "Writing and painting are prohibited!" the Czar noted in his own handwriting on the margin of the sentence. Four years after he was released the artist died far from home in Petersburg.

Merely a poet! And yet the nine years of freedom between serfdom and exile sufficed this tremendous spirit to build a bridge across the centuries - from the age of the Cossacks up to the new Ukrainian nationalism. Merely a poet, but what an explosive force was hidden in his /102/ ballads and poems, what effects were produced by his conjuring up of the past, his song of songs on freedom and his call to action! His "Kobsar" ('kobsar' was the name of the singers of famous folk epics from the time of the Cossacks) clothed all the national-political demands of the Ukrainian people in a sweeping poetic form and by this very means reached all classes of people.

*

539 "Hills upon hills, cloud-encircled,
Sown with sorrow, drenched in blood...
There, full of mercy, We shackled
Freedom and pursued her as she wandered
About the land, hungry, naked...Here lie

539 Untold hosts of hirelings.
And tears? Blood? Verily enough
To sate all czars,
To drown them and their progeny
In widows' tears... The tears of maidens
Shed throughout full nights of longing,
The burning pain of mothers' tears,
Our hoary fathers' tears of blood
No stream could hold, - ah no,
A sea, a fiery sea!... Oh honor
To all dogs and tyrants
And to the Czar, our little father."(55)

55. "Taras Shevchenko" in Beiträge zur Ukrainekunde, Number 6, Berlin 1937.

*

177 558 The political concept of an "indivisible Russia" suggests the suppression of all Ukrainian movements toward independence, even if they be merely of a cultural nature. In accordance with this, and on the basis of the principle followed by the Russian Minister of Education Valuiev: "There is no separate Little Russian language, there never was and never can be", Moscow issued a general printed statement prohibiting all /103/ Ukrainian writings. Ukrainian culture which is 700 years older than the Muscovite culture based on it was simply declared invalid. Belletristic works by Ukrainian pens may appear only in Russian spelling. All writing was sharply censured, concerts, lectures and theatrical performances were forbidden. Later the theatrical prohibition was relaxed a bit, but for each Ukrainian play a Russian one of equal length had to be performed. Since members of the higher classes would be unrefined if they spoke Ukrainian, actors portraying persons from cultivated circles has to speak only Russian even to Ukrainian plays.

11:Obermaier--107 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1

517 While the Ukrainian language was being banned from Kiyev, a new flowering of Ukrainian culture was beginning in the West Ukrainian metropolis

[741] of Lwów. In 1873 Ukrainian men of learning founded the "Scientific Shevchenko Society", a free academy. The number of Ukrainian chairs at the University grew. Now that all scholarly activity in the Ukrainian language was curtailed in East Ukraine, professors and writers transferred their field of activity to Lwów where a number of different cultural organizations arose. Kiyev as the intellectual hub of all Ukraine was outstripped by Lwów, in fact, even by Czernovits /now Chernovtsy/. Each of these two cities published more than one hundred Ukrainian works in 1894, whereas Kiyev published only ten works of so-called "literature for the home".

177 The revolution of 1905 only temporarily eased the pressure on Ukrainian cultural life. Freedom of the press and freedom of assembly remained only promises, and the "unity and indivisibility" of the Russian people was nothing but lifeless dogma until in 1917 its defenders were swept away by the seceding peoples.

517 Despite all difficulties, Lwów remained the cultural center of West Ukraine even after the

668 first World War. Its focal point was the "Scien-

[741] tific /104/ Shevchenko Society" which published its own periodicals and scholarly works. The spiritual trend of West Ukrainian intellectuals, in so far as they were not obliged to emigrate, was directed against traditional sentimentality. Young people were reared to think politically, to be ready for action and for dedication. In accordance with the political aims, the subject matter of present-day West Ukrainian literature shows a preference for the re-awakening of the Ukrainian people, for the heroic struggles of the last few decades, and for the heroic in the Ukrainian landscape.

Kiyev, Khar'kov and Odessa are the most
517 important centers of East Ukrainian intellec-
156 tual life. It is there that most of the Ukrain-
[2'14] ian books, periodicals and newspapers are published. Besides that, the Ukrainian tongue is also printed in many smaller cities. Many of the Soviet Ukrainian authors glorify present conditions; these are the interpreters of Communism, the worshipers of machines and idols. But there are also others, like Khvylovy, who in truthful pamphlets derided the state of affairs, the proletarian wirepullers, their ingenuousness, their venality and their eagerness to work their way up, authors who write with a nationalistic purpose, who are "exposed" and then, like Khvylovy, come to an unfortunate end. "Experts maintain that even in the works of the Ukrainian Communist writers, especially the younger ones, the national feeling cannot be hidden, that an inner schism appears in their works. They do not actually belong to proletarian literature which has remained inwardly foreign to them. How could it be otherwise with such a past!" (56) /Facing page 104/

56. Zalozieckyj, ibid.

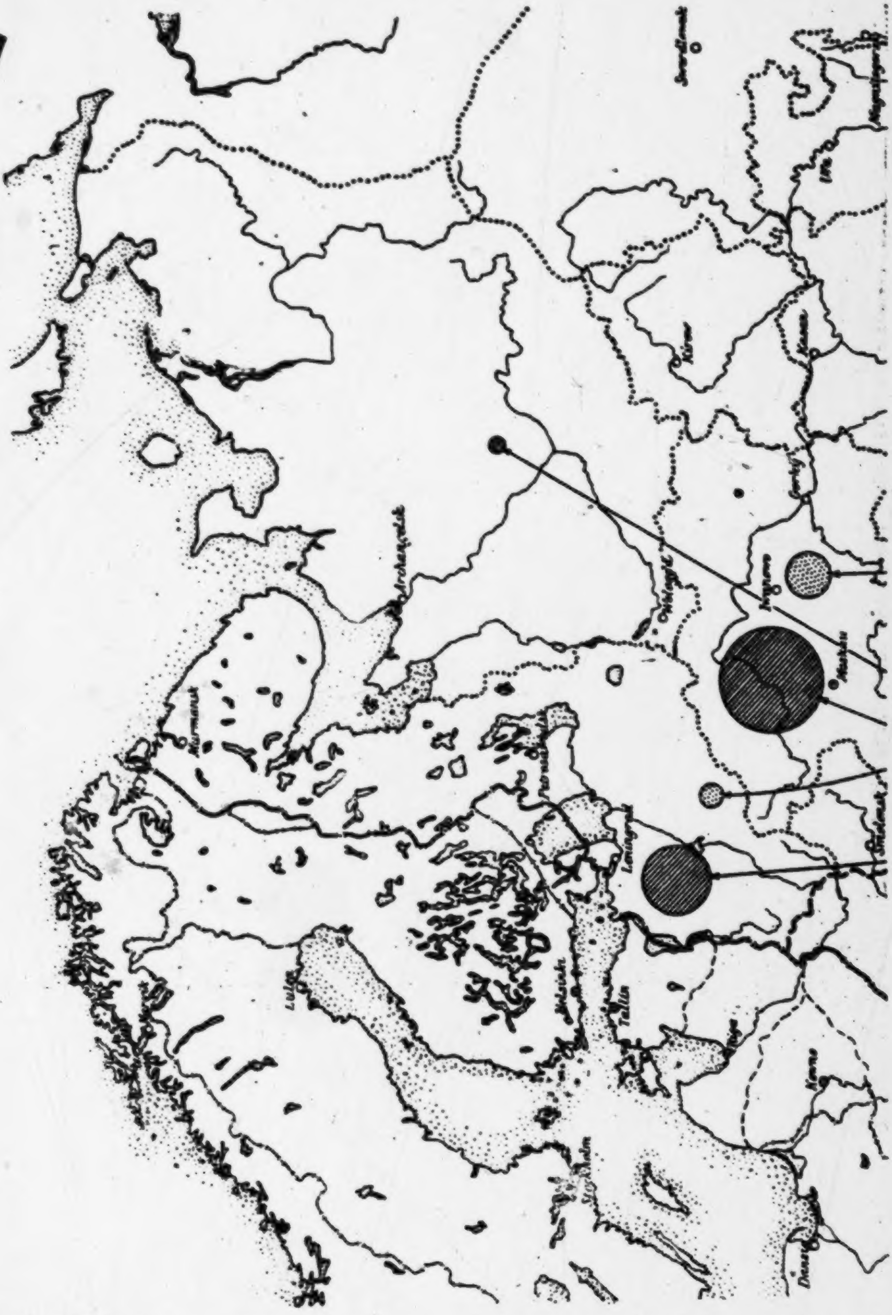
439 /Map VIII: Grain Export from the Soviet Ukraine and North Caucasus (Average for 1927/1928) This map differentiates between actual Soviet Ukraine and the North Caucasus regions. Export to foreign countries is insignificant compared to supplies sent to the Greater Russian areas of the Soviet Union situated in the forest belt./ /Key: Grain: ● from Soviet Ukraine, ● from the North Caucasus./

/105/ Trapping Souls

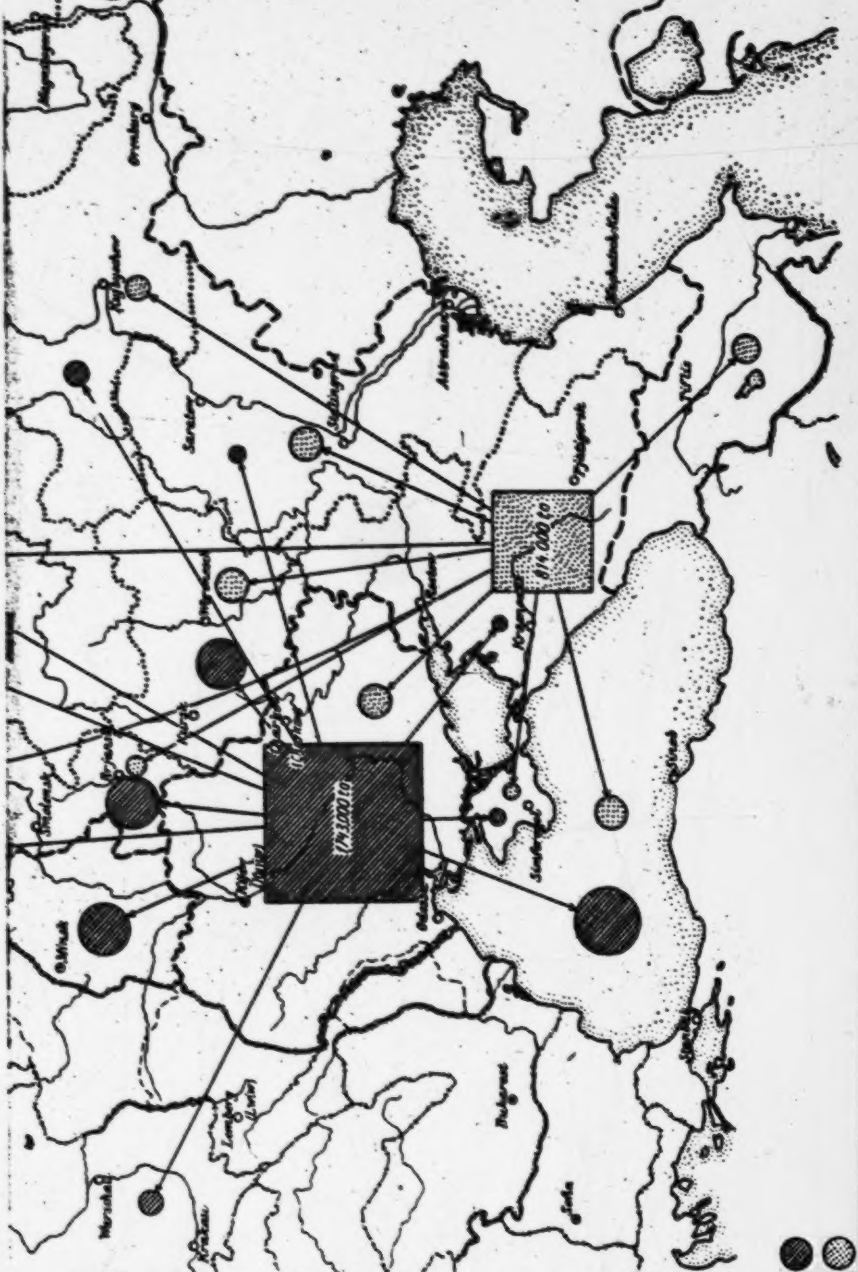
798 On Sunday, May 29, 1939 a unique event took place in the church of St. Peter in Rome:

11: Obermaier--108A J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

439


Murmansk
Archangelsk
Lulea
Helsinki
Petrosawodsk
Stockholm
Tallin
Leningrad
Riga
Wologda
Kirow
Swerdlowsk
Iwanowo
Moskau
Gorkij
Kasan
Ufa
Magnitogorsk
Danzig
Kowno
Smolensk

Map VIII: Grain Export from the Soviet Ukraine and North Caucasus (average for 1927/1928), cf. complete Legend, p. 109]


Magnitogorsk
Orenburg
Kuibyschew
Saratow
Stalingrad
Astrachan
Machatsch-Kala
Ordshonikidse
Tiflis
814.000 to
Krasnodar
Rostow
Woronesch
Kursk
Charkow
Smolensk
Brjansk
Minsk
1743.000 to
Dnjepr
Odessa
Simferopol
Sinop
Stambul
Bukarest
Sofia
Lemberg (Lwiw)
Warschau
Krakau

[Map VIII: Grain Export from the Soviet Ukraine and North Caucasus (Average for 1927/1928)

798 at the papal altar under the mighty canopy the former Imperial Russian diplomat at the court of the sultan and at present Byzantine-Slavic suffragan Monsignor Yevreyinov celebrated a solemn high mass in the Byzantine-Slavic ritual. Pius XII, the cardinals of the Vatican, the Collegium Ruthenum and the Collegium Russorum devoutly attended, and the casual churchgoers marveled at the strange choirs in the ancient Slavic tongue. The Pope ordered this high mass in honor of the same Vladimir the Great and Most Holy who approximately 950 years before had refused to receive the legates of his predecessors on the throne of Peter and who had been baptized in Byzantium.

A new attempt, therefore, to unite the East Roman Church with the West Roman one, a distinct gesture to the 180 million souls of Orthodox Christianity who are to be won over! The goal was often in sight, but again and again reintegration failed. The attempts of the Vatican to convert East Rome, or at least some of its believers, are as old as the separation of the two churches itself. Even the legates who had deposited the papal bulls of excommunication in the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople had returned to Rome via Kiyev. The efforts at reconciliation were never completely given up. In 1418 at the Council of Constance it was the metropolitan of Kiyev who had offered the submission of his followers on condition that the retention of the Slavic liturgy and /106/ ritual be granted. His offer was rejected. Twenty years later many bishops of the East and West Roman Church put their signatures to the solemn reconciliation which was then confirmed in the bull "Laetantur coeli". But this union also failed as a result of the opposition of the Muscovite Grand-Prince Vassily the Blind and the Orthodox believers. Toward the end of the same century the Orthodox Church was close to complete dissolution. Its

798 collapse seemed inevitable when in 1595 seven Orthodox bishops had approved the Brest Union in principle. But Polish-Jesuit intolerance, unfulfilled promises and disregard of the rights of those who were ready to enter the union made some of the bishops mistrustful and again estranged them. The arrogance with which the Catholic party treated the Orthodox, their public mockery, indeed even maltreatment of the Orthodox priests at that time, caused a chasm so great that to this day it has not been bridged over. At the same time, those who were already Uniats were not much better off. Their "complete equality" with Polish citizens and the Catholic clergy remained an empty promise which it was not in the power of the Uniat bishops to enforce. If the lower priests did not belong to the nobility "they were often seen in torn clothing walking along, whip in hand, beside their horses and oxen, furnishing relays for the state or performing compulsory services as serfs to their master." (57)

57. The Ukraine and the Church Union, page 24.

Conditions in the Uniat church improved in those regions that had come under Austrian rule after the partitioning of Poland, whereas in congressional Poland a ukase of the Czar again forcefully opened up the Orthodox heaven to the Uniats. With Peter the Great, who in 1721 had transferred the rights of the patriarchy of Moscow to the Holy Synod, the Czar had become the head of the Orthodox Church.

184
795 Since the serious crisis of Orthodoxy in the 15th and 16th /107/ century, the opportunity for a reunion of both churches* has never been as favorable as it is at present. The "defender of all Orthodox believers" is dead. The Synod in Moscow as well as the Ukrainian church, which

*[i.e., Catholic-Orthodox - Analyst]

184 became autocephalous during the Revolution,
795 have dissolved. In the wide realm of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics there is no visible ecclesiastical authority whatsoever. No one knows how many priests are secretly carrying on their duties. Churches are closed and have been transformed into "godless museums" or clubs. East Rome is without power and without priests.

It was said of Pius XI: "The Holy Father
648 is much concerned about the re-unification of
795 the East. It may be said that he has made this the goal of his life." (58) Pius XII, as may be seen by the honor bestowed on Vladimir, cherishes the same plans.

But the Soviet Union remained closed to the emissaries of the Vatican. Everything was done that could be done. In 1918 the Vatican hastened to send an ambassador to Kiyev. But before he arrived the addressee of the credentials, Hetman Skoropadsky, was already fleeing to the West. In 1922 to 1923 papal aid to the starving is supposed to "prepare the ground" for the seed which none other but Nuntius Pacelli scattered when in all secrecy in Berlin, he consecrated a Jesuit organizer as bishop of this charitable work; the Jesuit who is passing through must be consecrated secretly, in order that the Bolsheviks do not become suspicious and that the "simple" father who is apparently only concerned about apportioning the food that is handed out, can unostentatiously appoint five bishops. In this manner the first Catholic prelates are installed in the Ukraine. How often they have made use of their sacred powers and how many Catholic bishops and priests there are today in Soviet Ukraine is not known even in the Vatican.

58. The Ukraine and the Church Union, page 38.

Vatican.

000 Many hundreds of Catholic priests trained in the Orthodox ritual are waiting for the moment when the frontiers of the Soviet Union will be opened to the missionaries of Rome. /108/ They have been educated in the numerous special seminaries for priests which were erected at the wish of Pius XI in many dioceses of various countries.

First of all, however, the Orthodox of Poland were to be converted, of which, according to the last census, there were 3.8 million. The overwhelming majority of them were Greek Orthodox after the Brest Union and before their adoption into the Russian Empire. Now they were to be united anew with the Roman Catholic Church, not all at once, by force or from above through the conversion of bishops, but gradually and from below by winning over laymen and the priests. Pius XI who was for many years nuncio in Warsaw and got along well with the Poles, used for this purpose a more recent ritual, the Byzantine-Slavic one, which is more nearly like the purely Orthodox than is the Greek Orthodox, known as Ruthenian
795 in Rome. Externally the Byzantine-Slavic priests
798 with their long beards, their long hair and the klobuk (priest's hat) resemble their Orthodox colleagues. The dogma of this evolving church has not been definitively established. The Roman ecclesiastical congregation of the East is still uncertainly feeling its way along this difficult terrain. The orthodox love the form and even more the profound mysticism of their service which is rich in symbolism. The Vatican has learned from previous mistakes; it does not want to be hasty and arouse distrust. It is necessary to tread softly in places where the figures of saints are shunned as idols and demons and where the pope is regarded as the personified Antichrist. The fathers of the Byzantine-Slavic ritual are open to reason in matters of dogma, but the pope must

be recognized as the supreme shepherd and as infallible in ecclesiastical matters. This is their first condition. The dogma grows shaky on the doctrine about purgatory. The Orthodox Church knows only heaven and hell; and it is not always easy - in spite of the comforting prospect - to convince laymen and priests who are willing to be converted that there is also a purgatory./109/ The question as to whether the new ritual could not get along without this place of purification is at present still being considered in Rome. The problem of the origin of the Holy Spirit who, according to the Roman-Catholic conception forms a unity with God the Father and the Son, and according to the Orthodox belief originates only in God the Father, causes the least difficulties. The Byzantine-Slavic ritual is here permitted to adopt the Orthodox dogma.

Even though the 2000-year-old Roman Church had time carefully to prepare the matter of union, this was not the case with the fast-moving Polish state. Since Misika, a contemporary of Vladimir, introduced West Roman Christianity into Poland, the latter has always been at a disadvantage in its battle over the countries of the Slavic peoples with Orthodox religion, and it has always tried to compensate for this defect by Catholisizing in a headlong fashion. Polish missionary methods have done more harm than good as far as the Vatican is concerned. More than once the Papal See was obliged to curb Polish nationalism; four papal decress forbid the conversion of members of the Union to the Roman Catholic faith. In spite of this the Poles blithely went on "converting".

The most recent attempts at union by Pius XI and Pius XII were from the beginning sorely impeded by the preference shown the Poles by the deceased pope. Pius XI who gave Byzantine-Slavic ritual a new impulse excluded the Greek-Catholic clergy of Galicia, that is to say the Ukrainian priests, from their work of converting their

195 brothers in Volhynia, in Lublin, in Polesia and
198 in Podlakhia. He placed the clergy of the growing church under the jurisdiction of Polish Roman-Catholic bishops. Instead of Ukrainian priests, the French, Dutch and Poles, Redemptorists, Jesuits and Polish secular priests began missionary work in the Ukraine. It was supervised by an apostolic inspector who could pronounce no ecclesiastical judgment. The seminary for priests in Dubno was directed by Jesuits. /110/ But the thing that embittered all Ukrainians, whether Orthodox or Uniat, most of all against Rome, was the way the Orthodox Ukrainian ecclesiastical possessions seized by Warsaw were wasted on the Poles. The long fight between Ukrainian and Polish clergy about this property was settled by Pius XI in favor of the weaker party. Polish pastors received Ukrainian prebends and Polish colonists 100,000 hectares of land. The metropolitan of Lwów in a pastoral letter which was confiscated, described the papal procedure with regard to Poland as "robbery".

It cannot be denied that the Poles carried on a clever ecclesiastical policy toward the Vatican. Their strongest pressure instrument was probably the autocephalous Polish Church with Russian hierarchy which was subject to the Byzantine patriarch. A separate Orthodox faculty had been provided for it at the Warsaw University. In this way the Papal See could be threatened and its plans thwarted without incurring punishment.

The violent Catholisizing actions of the Poles, known as the "revindication of souls" made the Roman efforts at union extremely difficult. In the process of Polonizing Orthodox Ukrainians, the churches were often the only obstacle that needed to be taken seriously, for where the cultured stratum of society was so thin, the pope and the church were the only national prop the people had.

11:Obermaier--115 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1

795 The removal of this national stronghold has
798 been systematically carried on for many years by the Poles through methods which could probably be compared with those of the "revindication" of Catherine II.

As early as 1928 the Warsaw government closed approximately 400 Orthodox churches and liquidated the church property belonging to them. The "Ukrainian Self Reliance League of Canada" in a petition to the League of Nations asserted that by closing the Orthodox churches or by transferring them to the Roman Catholic Church "the members of the Greek Orthodox Church are deprived of the right of free /111/ exercise of their religion". The Poles dropped the last controls in the summer of 1938. They banished the few Ukrainian intellectuals from the border region; mounted corps of frontier guards with army chaplains at their head entered the Orthodox villages and a few hours later left the communities which had now become "converted" to Rome. Finally, Warsaw also carried on its missionary work with powder and quickmatch. About this the confiscated "Kuryer Wilenski" of August 26, 1938 reports among other things: "The destruction in the past month of a hundred and more Orthodox churches in the eastern districts of the voivodeship of Lublin at the command of the administrative bodies produced, as we know, first a reaction on the part of the bishop's council of the Orthodox Church in Poland and then also a reaction of the head of the Greek Uniat Church in the form of a manifesto to all believers, as well as incitement of the population in a few towns in which these 'riots' occurred... The Greek Crthodox clergy maintains that in the voivodeship of Lublin 114 Orthodox churches were destroyed by order of the authorities... It cannot be denied that people of the Greek Orthodox faith were profoundly stirred by the fact that their sanctuaries were destroyed."

11:Obermaier--116 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1

795 798 This is a picture of the beginning of the new Union.

/112/ Moscow Educates

000 In one thing Lenin proved superior to his enemies and predecessors: he knew how to utilize the social-revolutionary and nationalist-revolutionary forces in the vast Russian Empire for his own ends. With the explosive material which Hetman Skoropadskyj and the counterrevolutionary general Denikin had piled up anew through their forcible restoration of large estates, he destroyed both opponents. He met the collapse of the idea of a Pan-Russian Empire with the slogan of the revolutionary proletarian unified front of non-Russian peoples of the former czarist realm against the capitalist states. It was only for appearances' sake that he complied with the national wishes of the peoples gathered together under Moscow.

668 In Russian Ukraine, where at the beginning of the Revolution the national consciousness of the great masses of peasants was not yet deeply rooted, Lenin's tactics did not run against insuperable difficulties. The cultured stratum, already not too large, was divided into two camps, one of which sympathized with Bolshevism, while the other regarded an autonomy within the democratic realm of Great Russia as the most favorable solution of the problem of nationalities. Thus from the beginning Lenin had a part of the Ukrainian people on his side, and he subjugated the rest with the help of Muscovite troops during years of bloody civil wars. True, in November 1917, in the "Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia" sovereign rights "including the right of severance and of formation of an independent state" /113/ were promised, but toward the end of the period of the Communist war there was no force left which might have made use of it.

· 11:Obermaier--117 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1

After this first chapter of Muscovite national policy was completed, the second one began: the "New Economic Policy" (NEP). The Soviet Union was urgently in need of composure, of a breather and recuperation. The Bolsheviks in Moscow, therefore, loosened the reins and introduced the semi-free economy in which land, large enterprises and the banks remained the property of the state, the peasants obtained the usufruct of the land, and a free market could regulate 648 the distribution of goods. Simultaneously with the NEP, Moscow launched a second enterprise: the nationalization of non-Russian peoples. For it was necessary to administer in small doses and in as attractive a form as possible, Bolshevist ideology to the Ukrainians, the White Ruthenians, the Caucasian and all other peoples who were under Moscow's rule. With the XII Congress of the Communist Party in 1922 the policy of Ukrainization was adopted, to be sure only in the area of the Soviet Ukrainian Republic with its 443,000 square kilometers of surface and approximately 23 million Ukrainians, while the many millions of Ukrainians in the White Ruthenian Soviet Republic, the Russian Soviet Republic including the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, in the Kuban area, on the Volga and in Siberia were at that time already being de-nationalized. During that XII Congress in 1923, the following words were spoken about the Ukraine: "This is one of the problems which threaten to involve Soviet Russia and the Party in the greatest complications. It is one of those problems which, we must admit frankly and honestly, will promulgate civil war if we do not approach it with delicacy and understanding."

The Ukrainian Communists adopted Moscow's 661 slogan without hesitation. To Ukrainize - that 648 meant to give Ukrainians leading positions in the government, in the Party, in the cooperatives, in economy, in the press and in the school system; /114/ it also meant using Ukrainian as the offi-

661 648 cial language and promoting Ukrainian culture in all its aspects, in science and art. The process was carried on so eagerly in all fields that in the course of it the task of converting people to Bolshevism seemed almost to be forgotten. In fact, a Ukrainian national Bolshevist movement was started, which soon ran into opposition with Moscow. It was headed by the People's Commisar for Popular Education, Shumskyj, whose group openly opposed the "exploitative colonial policy of Moscow". The situation was not too good within the Communist Party of the Ukraine. Shumskyj divulged this in his speech of May 12, 1926: "Within the Party, the Russian Communist prevails; he does not trust the Ukrainian Communist and is hostile toward him." (59)

59. Fedenko: Lectures on the Question of Nationalities in the U.S.S.R., page 12.

648 How weak the position of Moscow was after the subjugation of the Ukraine is shown by the Constitution of the Soviet Union of 1923, in which the Ukrainian Soviet Republic as well as the remaining national republics of the Union had to be formally recognized. The defense system, the transportation system, finances and foreign policy were declared to be affairs of the state. The Foreign Commissariat in Moscow established a branch in Khar'kov, which at that time was the Soviet Ukrainian capital.

661 648 The process of Ukrainization reached its external climax with the visit of the Ukrainian champion of liberty Colonel Konovalets who in 1918 and 1919 had carried on the bitterest battles against the Bolsheviks and now visited Kiyev at the invitation of the President of Soviet Ukraine, Petrovskyj. Like so many other emigrants he, too, had let himself be dazzled by Muscovite nationalist policy. That Petrovsky was able to show his West Ukrainian guest was indeed astonishing com-

661 pared with that which remained to the Ukrainians in Poland. 648 The old cultural city on the Dniepr was experiencing a new efflorescence; 70% of all students in Soviet Ukraine were attending Ukrainian schools. There had been nothing like [214] it since the days of the Cossacks. /115/ Between 1918 and 1928 the Academy of Sciences published [217] 888 works and numerous libraries were founded. (60) Hundreds of newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets enlightened Ukrainians eager for knowledge in their mother tongue, and poetry and belles-lettres had reached a very high level. But soon black shadows were to fall on this brilliance.

Not yet satisfied with the results of the 661 policy of Ukrainization - in 1929 only 36% of 665 the officials were Ukrainians, the rest Jews and Russians (61) - the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine decided at the end of December, 1929, to intensify the process of nationalization. Especially the working classes were to take an active part in Ukrainian cultural life; Ukrainian theaters were to put on regular performances in the industrial areas; there were to be "Ukrainization cells" formed in the factories, the high union posts and the leading positions in the cooperatives were to be held by Ukrainians, and adherence to the course of nationalization of the administrative system was to be supervised. In this manner the cities were to be Ukrainized. The Commissar of People's Education, Skrypnyk, the successor of Shumskyj, successfully sought both to disseminate Ukrainian literature

60. Tisserand: The Ukraine, Life of a People, page 283.

61. Fedenko: Lectures on the Question of Nationalities in the U.S.S.R., page 17.

and raise its standard and to do the same for the
665 theater and films. He even intended to impede
661 the sale of newspapers and books written in
Russian. When the first Five Year Plan was drawn up the Ukrainian Economic Council had its own demands to make to the state planning commission. It requested the establishment of industries which should make the Ukraine economically independent of the rest of Russia, as for example, textile factories, leather factories, paper mills and chemical plants.

665 The Pan-Russian Communists had repeatedly warned of such a development. Even in 1927 when Shumskyj was transferred to the north for disciplinary reasons, the Communist Party drew up a memorandum to the Executive Committee of the Comintern /116/ which, among other things, stated: "Before the Revolution we had almost no Ukrainian bourgeoisie and intelligentsia in the cities, now they are increasing every year, they multiply through influx from the villages, they strengthen their positions in the economy and the apparatus of government and endeavor to bring a certain proportion of Soviet officials, workers and Party members under their influence." (62) In this memorandum the great danger of nationalistic deviation within the KPU (Communist Party of Ukraine)was emphatically pointed out. "The Disquieting Signal" was the title of a review of Vaganian's book On National Culture, in the official organ of the Russian government publication: The Reader and the Author. To Vaganian's warning of national cultures the government publishing firm adds the remark that there is danger in the fact that in recent times a number of Ukrainian authors have published works which the

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62. Zaliznyak: The Struggle Between the Ukraine and the Soviet Union, page 669 ff.

665 Ukrainian population prefers to read, whereas the works of Russian authors remain completely unknown in the Ukraine. It goes on to say that this is a very detrimental phenomenon, for Russian culture is important for the entire Soviet Union and for the whole world, while Ukrainian culture is of merely local significance.

Conversely, the Ukrainians accused the Muscovites of chauvinism. Stalin, the Georgian, tried to pronounce a Solomonic judgment at the Sixteenth Party Congress in June 1930 by condemning both Great Russian and Ukrainian nationalism: "Great Russian chauvinism under the communists reflects the efforts of the ruling classes of former Russia to reconstruct their lost privileges of domination over other peoples. As a result, the chauvinism of Great Russia is the chief danger in the national policy of the Communist Party." In accordance with these ideas, the Sixteenth Congress adopted the resolution that the Party should /117/ intensify its fight against Great Russian deviation and the deviations of "local nationalism".

648 As a matter of fact, Ukrainian nationalism
182 was indeed becoming a danger to Bolshevik Moscow. As compared to the period of war-communism, the Ukraine was living in remarkably comfortable cir-
[369] cumstances. The fact that the majority of the Ukrainian people, the rural population, enjoyed an adequate subsistence, must have had a positively irritating effect on the urban masses in their wretched circumstances. Was not this an open refutation of the communist doctrine? There was the additional fact that the Ukrainians became more and more importunate with their varied demands, and that the power of the Ukrainian government had increased so much during the NEP period, that finally it headed the opposition of non-Russian peoples in the Council of Nationalities (the second chamber next to the Supreme Council) and forced Moscow several times to change its

[During the NEP period in the Soviet Union—Analyst]

648 162 budget plans. If things went on in this way the social system of communism would face serious crises as a result of the flourishing peasant economy of the Ukraine - in the regions of Great Russia communal ownership of fields has prevailed since ancient times - and the Muscovite conception of national unity might be seriously threatened by the increasing power of "assembled peoples".

In order to avoid these dangers and also in view of other considerations, Stalin discontinued the New Economic Policy and introduced the period of the Five Year Plans. In spite of the decision of the Sixteenth Party Congress, the way to Russianization was opened, and Ukrainization discontinued; Ukrainian nationalism received a hard blow when free peasant farming was immediately liquidated. There have been untold victims of these revolutionary processes which were attended by violent upheavals from the time Stalin announced his principle of "socialism within one country".

648 185 "Socialism within one country" demanded industrialization as the presupposition for the independence of the socialistic /118/ state. This industrialization had to take place throughout the realm and according to a unified plan. Every form of particularism could only be detrimental - the Ukrainian form doubly so; for in the Ukraine are the coal and metal and the water power reserves of the Dniepr from which horsepower by the millions can be obtained. Such considerations led to the First Five Year Plan, in the course of which Ukrainian economy, heavy industry, finance and particularly agriculture were subordinated to orders from Moscow. The division of private economy was "liquidated".

661 The new system* introduced the purging of the Pan-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in the year 1930, where members of the "League for the Liberation of the Ukraine" had entrenched themselves; they were now "unmasked". In a monster trial in

*[i.e., Beginning of the Five year Plans — Analyst]

661 Khar'kov, Ukrainian scholars were sentenced to many years' imprisonment and exile - shooting was not yet customary at that time. In 1931 a second national Ukrainian organization, the "National Center", was uncovered, to which members of the Communist Party also belonged. Two years later about 4000 persons were arrested, of whom it was said they belonged to the "organization of Ukrainian revolutionists". Everywhere the GPU - state political division - discovered dangerous Ukrainians. The Secretary of the Central Committee of the KPU, Kossior, stated in this connection at the conference of the active section of the Party in Khar'kov the end of 1932: "The nationalistic elements became particularly active in 1931 and 1932 when every day they penetrated new areas of socialistic development." (63) In the course of the denationlization of the Ukraine, the People's Commissar Skrypnyk was also obliged to resign. Stalin called to account this collaborator of Lenin, who had been Deputy Chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet government, because of "nationalistic deviation". Thereupon Skrypnyk committed suicide. In his place the enemy of Ukraine Zatonskyj and the Jew Khait, undertook the task of disciplining and educating the Ukrainian people. /119/

In its desire utterly to exterminate Ukrainian nationalism, the Moscow regime spared no one, neither the peasants who defended themselves against the loss of their property, nor the scholars whose eyes saw beyond Karl Marx' horizon, nor such supernumerary mouths to feed as poets, are in a land of production. Soviet poets in general never had an easy time of it. Whether they wrote love poems and poems about spring, or

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63. The Ukraine and the Nationality Policy of Moscow, page 54.

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whether they remained silent, both could be interpreted as "sabotage against socialistic progress". In this situation an author "steers his boat like an adroit sailor through the stormy waves of Stalin's Party policy and takes care only to save himself." (64) What could be interpreted as a crime against Party policy in these purging actions against Ukrainian nationalists is shown by the fate of Grigory Epyks. In his book The First Spring "the true nationalist unmasks" himself in the following words: "He became lost in thought as he pictured to himself Vassa's full bosom, her slender, straight legs that tapered down to her ankles in a gentle curve. Serge feasted his eyes on this picture and began to conjure it up distinctly in his imagination. Vassa's legs did not seem thin, neither were they heavy. Their firm curve began gently at the chiseled knee,descended gradually, swelling proportionately toward the calves, by no means puny, and terminating in the thin, seemingly chiseled ankles. For such legs heavy servitude was probably many a time imposed on the Ukraine by the people of the Orient, and eyes and a soft, deep voice such as Vassa Polubotko had doubtless gave the Ukraine the right to be proud of their daughters." "In this nationalistic admiration of a racy Ukrainian woman," the critics of Epyk stated, "within a theory of national biology, which is actually the theory of race, crass nationalism is revealed." Epyk saved himself from spending his life in a labor camp by writing an appealing letter to the /120/omnipotent Postyshev, from which the latter communicated the following: "By planning terroristic attempts at assassina-

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64. The Ukraine and the Nationalities Policy of Moscow, page 82.

661 tion we have for many successive years carried on actions, in comparison with which the deeds of a highway robber may be called a model of honesty and humanity. I understood that the sentence of the proletarian court must be the following: to deal with me as with a mad dog, to do away with me as with a sick horse, to remove me from the social organism. The Communist Party has magnanimously accepted my penitence. The Party has given me life and the joy of work." (65)

65. *The Ukrainian Literature in the Service of its Nation*, pages 47 and 48.

661 It was Postyshev whom Stalin sent into the Ukraine at the end of 1932 with a small army of
665 GPU men and whom he ordered to destroy the "national counterrevolution", while Tsatonskyj and Khait were to discover, unmask and correct "national aberrations". After approximately a year's activity Postyshev reported his "successes" to the plenary meeting of the Party actives of the city of Khar'kov in November, 1933. According to this report, 27,400 of a total of 125,000 members of the KPU were expelled in 1933; 1000 nationalists were removed from the People's Commissariat for Public Education and its subordinate organizations in the province, nearly 2000 from the cooperatives and economic organizations, and approximately 300 professors and assistants from scientific institutions. 2500 Ukrainian nationalists were rounded up by Postyshev's agents in central positions of Soviet Ukraine in Khar'kov alone. Finally, 237 Party secretaries of th peripheral administrations, 249 chairman of the executive committees and 158 chairmen of the controlling commissions, as well as 1300 members of the Association of Communist Socialist Youth (Komsomol) were victims of this purge. (66) The

66. Report of Pstyshev at the Party meeting in Khar'kov in November 1933.

661 general secretary of the KPU, Kossier, was appar-
665 ently justified in saying: "The fact that we have
000 shattered nationalism, /Facing page 120/ /Ukrainian girl drawing water./*/Facing page 121/ /What a wealth of imagination and highly developed skill is disclosed in these pretty handmade national costumes!/*/121/ that we have organized our work properly in the country, this has determined our successes in the year 1933." (67)

67. Izvestiia" Number 19 and Number 20, 1934, in Nation und Staat, page 107.

000 Several years later these fierce foes of the Ukrainian people were themselves to be "unmasked". They were, for example, the friend of Postyshev, Ioina Iakir, at that time supreme commander of the Red Army in the Ukraine who had raged furiously against the nationalists at the Seventeenth Congress, and the People's Commissar Tsatonskyj who was shot in 1937 because of counterrevolutionary activities. Tastonskyj's successor, Khomenko, was relieved of his office on April 9, 1939.

642 From the time that Moscow once more obtained for itself, with bullet and bayonet, a separatist Ukraine, the freedom of the country has been constantly curtailed. When the period of "integral centralization" with the Five Year Plans, began the branch office of the Foreign Commissariat in Khar'kov was eliminated, the Ukrainians were removed from leading positions in economy and the government, and the individual commissariats and whatever important commanding positions there were, were little by little turned over to Moscow.

The democratic Constitution of November 1936 tops the skyscraper of integral centralism. Articles 15 and 16 of the Constitution are merely a gesture, according to which "every Soviet republic exercises supreme power quite as a matter of course"

*[For plates, cf. pp. 221-222, category 116 - Analyst]

642 and "every republic of the Union has its constitution which takes into consideration the peculiarities of this republic..."; and Article 17 which avers that "every republic of the Union retains the right of voluntary withdrawal from the USSR" is merely an empty phrase, for the laws of the entire Bolshevik realm have equal power in all the federated republics and take precedence over the laws of the federated republics. Anyone who would dare to put into effect in his federated state the "right of voluntary withdrawal" from the Union, would be presented with Article 133 of the same Constitution, which says: "Defending his country is the /122/ most sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR. Treason like violating an oath, going over to the enemy, damaging the military forces of the state and espionage will be avenged as the greatest crime with all the force of the law." If it should occur to a Ukrainian to agitate for the right of voluntary withdrawal from the Union of his federated republic, which is "guaranteed" him in Article 17, Article 123 could be cited to prevent him from doing so, which makes punishable "any propaganda of a racial or nationally exclusive nature".

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645 Now, what is the "independent exercise of supreme power" in the Ukraine like? Article 77 of the Constitution[1] clarifies this point, the People's Commissariats of Moscow are alone competent in matters pertaining to defense, foreign policy, foreign trade, traffic, the entire postal system, heavy industry and defense industry. But since the Constitution went into effect further commissariats of the Federated Republics have been subordinated to the Moscow offices, so that only education, local industry, municipal economy and social welfare have remained in Ukrainian hands. These are subject to the supervision of the national office. Under such circumstances it does not matter how the administrative system of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic is built up,

[1] [i.e. of November 1936 - Analyst]

642 645 inasmuch as the entire governmental hierarchy from the village council /soviet/to the head of the state is merely a body of sheriffs whose duty is to see that the orders from Moscow are carried out.

000 In place of the nationalization of non-Russian peoples, which was given up in 1930, there have come up since 1936 the slogans about the "common socialistic fatherland", the "great Soviet people", the "love of the Soviet homeland". Besides that, the theory of the Russian people as the "leading people of the Revolution" is being quite systematically disseminated. The chauvinism of Great Russia which Stalin so mercilessly exposed to shame at the Party Congress of 1930 bids fair /123/ to recapturing for the Great Russian people the same position it had at the time of the White Czars.

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871 Since Ukrainization was discontinued,[2] the education of Ukrainian youth goes on strictly according to the principles of the Marx-Lenin doctrine. Woe to the educator against whom it can be proved that he is departing from this course. Thousands of scholars and pedagogues had to give up their lives because of such mistakes.

The basic type of school in Soviet Ukraine, just as throughout the Soviet realm, is the "seven-grade work school" which roughly corresponds to an elementary school. Attendance in the four lower grades is obligatory, in the three higher ones, voluntary. The young Ukrainian, after he has graduated from the work school, may enter the "professional school" (a sort of technical school) or the "workers' school" for factory apprentices. The adult worker may enroll as auditor in the "workers' academy". There are also "Party schools", such as the "Pan-Ukrainian Institute for Communist Education", and, in place

[2] [At the 16th All-Union Communist Party Congress of the Soviet Union in June 1930 - Analyst]

891 of the universities which were for a long time forbidden, the "technical institutes" and the more advanced type of these, the "institutes for popular education". In recent times universities have again been revived.

In this connection it may be said that the obligation to attend elementary school begins at the age of eight and ends at the age of twelve. Two-thirds of the elementary pupils leave school before their four years are up. The subjects of instruction of the first few grades of the workers' school include, among other things: 1. Lenin - revolutionary, Communist, protector of workers and peasants; his death, short biography. 2. The Czar and the workers in the year 1905. 3. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. (68) - The "professional schools" are regular schools for fifteen- and eighteen-year-olds, corresponding somewhat to our German agricultural and business schools. The "workers' schools", on the other hand, are attended only at certain hours by factory apprentices. /124/ The "workers' academies" are somewhat like the former German people's universities. The course of study lasts four years; it entitles the graduate to register in universities without having to take any kind of entrance examinations. The Party schools train agitators and propagandists; the technical schools and institutes train engineers, chemists and specialists in various fields in a three-year, and in some cases a four- and five-year course of [563] study. While the process of Ukrainization was going on in 1928, there were among all university students in the Ukraine 15.8% Russians, 23% Jews, 56% Ukrainians and the rest students of other nationalities. (69) In 1933 and 1934 universities

68. Siropolko: The General Education in the Soviet Union, page 40.

69. Siropolko: The General Education in the Soviet Union, page 98.

87/ were established in Kiyev, Khar'kov, Odessa and Dnepropetrovsk.

No research is being carried on either in the institutes or the technical schools or the universities; they are all purely teaching institutions. There are special institutes, so-called research chairs, for research which can be carried on only within the framework of historical materialism. "The researcher is advised to limit his activity to collecting and systematizing material and to avoid drawing conclusions." (70) Since there is only one publisher, the state, scientists often have difficulty publishing their works at all. Thus they often have no choice but to have individual studies lithographed and published in a collected edition of 50 to 100 copies. The students for their part have other worries: they live mostly in dormitories, usually very poorly. To a large extent they also lack the necessary educational equipment.

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197 The Russianization of the Ukrainian language is part of the nationality fight between Russians and Ukrainians. Forgotten is the time when the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences in the year 1905 emphatically pointed out that the Russian and the Ukrainian language were separate languages. According to the opinion expressed at that time, the Russian literary language should not be imposed upon the Ukrainians, since they have at their disposal a "completely /125/ developed literary language of their own". In 1933 the State Publishing House of Moscow issued textbooks for Ukrainian schools in the new "unified" language. "Unification" means reintroduction of numerous Russian words with Ukrainian endings; it also means the use of Russian phrases which are completely foreign to the Ukrainian language. If a teacher should object to this corruption of the mother tongue of his pupils or not use it, there would be

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70. Zalozieckij: Ibid., page 31.

11:Obermaier--131 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD.

177 191 sufficient grounds to deal with him in summary proceeding as a "separatist". Pravda of October 16, 1937 even accuses non-Russian students of "mutilating the great Russian language with all kinds of local linguistic rubbish".

The Russian State Publishing House in Moscow is playing a leading role in the language fight. Of 20 monographs which were published up to midsummer 1939 as a result of the great Shevchenko celebrations, no less than 16 were written in Russian and only 4 in the Ukrainian language.

Finally, a favorite method of Russianization is the granting of prizes, free journeys, and privileged places of work and study to young Ukrainians.

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665 883 867 857 Young people are supposed to spend their leisure time in the Party organizations of the "Yellow Bills", the "Pioneers" and with the "Communistic Socialistic Youth" (Komsomol). /This is an erroneous reading of the Soviet abbreviation of Komministicheski Soiuz Molodiozh; which means Communist League of Young People. Editor/ There they are divided up into "groups of various interests" where they "can develop and satisfy their most urgent needs". There are those interested in the theater, music, sports, politics, the army and similar things. "From the outposts, from groups, from the clubs, from schools, the young people of talent come into the guardianship of the Pioneers every day, every evening, and there they develop, for they are under the supervision of experts..." (71) What "urgent needs" means is explained by the Kiyev Visti of March 27, 1939, which says that the children conversation hours

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71: H. Furman: Activity and Life of the Pioneers in the Ukraine.

665 in the movies and the /126/ theater are "dedicated
883 to the historic Party Congress". According to
867 Proletarska Pravda of January 5, 1938, popular
conversations "about the difficult life of child-
857 ren in capitalist countries, about the international youth movement and the forthcoming meeting of the Supreme Council of the USSR are carried on" at such gatherings.

875 The teaching personnel in Soviet Ukraine consists largely of Russians and Jews. In the "pedagogical technical schools" and the "pedagogical institutes" in which educators are trained, the main emphasis is put on a sound knowledge of the Communist doctrine. It is obvious that in the process other subjects, such as language, spelling, history and the like, are neglected. If even in Leningrad "the struggle against illiteracy among the teachers is being intensified", (72) what may one expect to find in the provinces! In a single Ukrainian rayon 400 teachers had inadequate knowledge of orthography. (73) The profession of the Soviet Ukrainian teacher is certainly
[665] not enticing. The pay is very small; the village schoolmasters are often paid only in kind, and if they wander off into the factories and the teacher shortage becomes too great, the Komsomol sometimes comes to the rescue and "quickly mobilizes 50,000 members as substitutes". (74)

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72. Kommunistische Aufklärung of December 16, 1935, quoted from Richthofen: Bolschewistische Wissenschaft und Kulturpolitik /Bolshevik Science and Culture Policy/, page 75.

73. Siropolko: The General Education in the Soviet Ukraine.

74. Kommunist of May 19, 1931, quoted by Danko; The Nation in Soviet Chains.

11:Obermaier--133 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1

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876 All these things could be temporary inconveniences.[1] But the evil is more deeply rooted; for the educational principles are decisive in the rearing of the young Ukrainian generation. And in this field conditions are sad, as Pravda in an article of March 23, 1938 on the problems of Soviet schools confesses: "...Our network of schools of which the country can be proud, presents in its pedagogical division a scattered mass of teachers - individualists - and in the student division a mass of scattered classes which are joined purely mechanically by reason of their being under one roof. School as a collective, unified institution is /127/ unknown to the teachers, the children, the family or the Soviet public. And this is precisely the root of a great deal of misfortune... Only in a unified school body can the powerful force of public opinion as a regulatory and disciplinary-educational factor be created in the child's consciousness. Without it the pupils become lazy, break windows, call each other names, besmirch each other and with their boorish conduct demoralize not only themselves but the teachers as well... And then the family, the teachers, in fact even the various organs of the militia reproach each other, or they lay all the blame on the Komsomol, on the organizations of Pioneers and finally on the director of the school."

It must be admitted that the Bolsheviks lacked any kind of example as well as long years of experience in educating their youth according to the theories of Karl Marx and his numerous interpreters. From the beginning there were too few schools and too few teachers, and these shortcomings have even today not been removed. But the "success", as Pravda characterizes it, of the now twenty-year-old Bolshevik education, is primarily the result of the educational ideal

[1] [i.e., educational inadequacies; cf. pp. 131-132, Cat. 116—Analyst]

which consists of "training a human being technically so that, equipped with the latest achievements in science and technics and full of creative initiative, he would be able, within the framework of collective endeavor, to conquer nature, to utilize its treasures and its forces in the broadest sense for the benefit of society as a whole, which, consciously and systematically shall carry the struggle for the Communist ideal to its victorious conclusion." (75)

Where the main task of the school is to educate the perfect technical human being - not the righteous one - training must begin at the nursery school age. The four-year-old child is already told about scientific things, and five- and six-year-old children learn the secrets of politics, of the work /128/ process and of technics. The fairy tales told by grandmother are forbidden; in their place a Bolshevik decorated with medals tells about the success of the Five Year Plan. The Catechism and the Bible are replaced by the Lenin dogma in which "finding favor in the sight of God" is synonymous with meeting production figures. The school, too, is merely a tentacle of the polyp "production process". It has the special task of "reproducing qualified man power" - precisely in the sense in which a machine factory furnishes replacements for worn-out tools of production. (76) It is necessary to rear human beings who will work with the precision

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75. Silberstein and Yastrzembsky: System of General Education, Ukrainian Government Publication, 1929. Quoted by Richthofen: Bolshevik Science, page 53.

76. Hessen S. and N.Hans: Fünfzehn Jahre Sowjetschulwesen, Langensalza 1933. Quoted by Richthofen, ibid., page 51.

876 of a machine and who, like a machine, heedless of personal concerns, unencumbered by spiritual impulses will produce the maximum number of revolutions for as long a time as possible. Only when the entire production of the educational factories is standardized does the individual product adapt itself without friction to the process. If the education of children were left to the families as it was before, the entire experiment would be jeopardized from the beginning, the more so since the Soviet Union is still primarily an agrarian country. For this reason the Bolsheviks replace the irreplacable educational force of the family with children's and young people's homes. This has its advantages: family ties are loosened and finally severed, the poison of Ukrainian nationalism is staved off and God is eliminated.

Thus young people are reared, homines technici who "perform their tasks purely automatically like machines, devoid of any moments of emotion, detached from any family ties and from ethnic groups, free from religious prejudice, merely on the basis of a rationally determined plan. But the machine is cruel; it destroys and crushes everything that stands in its way, for it knows no feelings, no former merits, it does not perceive individual greatness. Everything that towers above the measuring rod of the official pattern is mowed down, has its head cut off".(77)

77. Richthofen: Bolshevik Science and Culture Policy, page 76.

000 /Facing page 128/ /A typical workers' settlement near Krivoy Rog. Everywhere around the industrial cities which have sprung up like mushrooms, such loam huts are built as workers' cottages./[1]/Facing page 129/ /Richelieu Terrace in Odessa/[1]/129/

665 883 876 The head of the Komsomol, Kosarev, was justified in making the following statement at the

[1] [For plates, cf. pp. 222-223, category 116 — Analyst]

665 883 876 23rd International Youth Day in Moscow in 1937: "Never in the history of the world have there been and are there such conditions for growth, education and training of the younger generation as have been created for young people among us by the Soviet government, by the Communist Party..." There are countless proofs of the fact that the basic principles of Bolshevik education are refuted by the products of this education.[1] The Komsomolskaja Pravda, number 83, 1935 admits "that the criminal elements in schools developed more actively than the Komsomols and the Pioneers, and therefore drew a large number of students [681] into their sphere of influence", and Pravda of February 19, 1935 reports that the following punishments are administered to combat hoodlumism among children of from 8 to 12 years: "The expulsion of the hoodlums from school, legal persecution of their parents, the formation of special divisions of militia to combat youthful criminals, and so forth." (78) This picture is rounded off by the introduction on April 7, 1935 of the death penalty for children beginning at the age of 12 for those of them who can be shown to have committed theft, banditry, murder or to have contemplated murder, and by the purges which began in the autumn of 1937 against the members of the Komsomol, especially in the Ukraine.

/130/

In the Village

181 During the years in which Shevchenko stands watch in the searing heat of the Kirghiz Steppes, his friend Kostomariv formulates for the first time the contrasts between Ukrainian and Russian ethnic groups. According to this, a tendency toward spirituality prevails in the social and

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78. Richthofen, Bolshevik Science and Culture Policy, page 75.

[1] [For a discussion of Bolshevik educational theory and methods, cf pp 133-135, category N6 - Analyst]

181 political life of the Ukrainians, in that of the Great Russians a tendency toward materialsim prevails. The Ukrainians incline toward federation, the Russians toward absolutism; the Ukrainians have a tendency to prefer personal freedom, the Russians despotism. As a result of these contrasts, he says, there is an eternal battle between the two peoples. (79)

79. Zalozieckij: The Spiritual Life of the Ukraine in the Past and Present.

144 The difference between Russians and Ukrainians are racially conditioned and historically substantiated. The hemotogenetic basis of the Russian people are the aboriginal Finno-Ural-Altaic peoples. These mixed with the advancing Slavs and later, at the time of the sovereignity of the Asiatic hordes, also with Tatars. In Ukrainian blood Slavic as well as Nordic components - Goths, Varangians - predominate. But Armenoids and Mediterranean races have gained influence, 142 and a dash of Tatar blood cannot be lacking. The Ukrainian is in general tall. He has broad shoulders, a round or semi-round skull, straight nose, high forehead, small mouth and small ears. His skin is slightly dark, his hair abundant, straight and predominantly dark. The Kubans in the East and the Huzuls in the West are the tallest, with an average height of 170 centimeters.

174 Historically the differences between the two /131/ peoples were revealed even at the time the Golden Horde subjugated them both. To this day the Russians boast of the fact that at that time they had carried on a more clever Tatar policy, that they had yielded and voluntarily paid the head tax - in contrast to the Ukrainians. While in that century Ukrainian high nobility played the leading cultural role at the court of the Lithuanian Gedemins, the Muscovite grand prince

11:Obermaier--138 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1

174 Ivan Kalita destroyed the power of the nobility and therewith laid the foundation for Muscovite despotism. A further example of historically proved contrariety is furnished during the time of Ivan the Terrible. The most sinister force rules at that time in Moscow, while in the Ukraine the Cossacks are preparing to found the freest state that probably ever existed in East Europe.

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101 184 Among the Ukrainians there are, in turn, tribal differences. The inhabitants of the dark forest region of Podlakhia and Polesia, who are obliged to wrest all fruits from the earth, can scarcely be as gay as those of the sunny spaces of the south. Those are melancholy and oppressed people who up there carry on the struggle for existence. Farther south, from the fertile hills of Podolia way over to the foothills of the Caucasus, there are fields of golden grain, fruit grows of its own accord, the sky is blue for many months, and on the Kuban there is paradise itself. Cheerful, candid people live here.

181 The Ukrainians are a peasant people and more than 90% of all children first see the light of the world through the small window-panes of a straw- or shingle-covered cottage. They are peasant souls - that is, quiet, good-natured, placid human beings who cling to the sod, to their own farm, who want to plow, sow and reap. They are poor, but honest and at the same time hospitable and positively ceremonially polite. People like to call them "Southerners" because of their cheerful disposition and their humor. They love that contemplative life which /132/ is hard to combine with constant hard work. It has not been a blessing to the Ukrainian that the soil yields richly and effortlessly, that his daily bread need not be obtained amid constant toil and hardships. If that were the case, perhaps he

181 would possess the favorable characteristic of obstinate perseverance; stubborness cannot replace it.

By nature the Ukrainian is an Easterner, that is to say he prefers the irrational, and his emotion outweighs his will. "The Eastern nature is characterized by rapid unexpected transitions from unprovoked and therefore short-lived enthusiasm and activity to complete, likewise unjustified quietism and apathy, which in history often expresses itself in a sudden transition from an imposing advance to epochs of complete deterioration." (80)

80. Zalozieckyj: The Spiritual Life of the Ukraine in the Past and Present.

562 The Ukrainians are proud of their women. The Ukrainian woman is slender and tall, usually with black hair and black eyes. Folksongs sing of her thick eyebrows and her beautiful legs. The Ukrainian gynecologist Yuriy Lypa says of the Ukrainian woman that she never comes under the domination of a man; that like no other woman of Europe she is associated with things warlike. For, according to tradition, the Amazons lived between the Dnieper and the Don. Her relationship to man is strictly regulated, in spite of great passion and hot blood. It is based on pride and a consciousness of dignity. She must exert strong will power in order to keep herself within the bounds she sets for herself. She is cruel toward herself, but especially toward other women who overstep these bounds. Kulish, an outstanding Ukrainian historian, author and ethnographer, attributes to women the creation of those tender Ukrainian love songs which are so full of harmony and restraint. It is said that the actual realm of the Ukrainian woman is her family, where she occupies the dominating position as mother. The Ukrainian woman is more prac-

562 tical than her husband. She cares for the family as an entity, /133/ which is why Ukrainian common law knows no divorce. The so-called mother's inheritance which may not be touched by her husband is proof, it is said, of her material independence. In critical moments of his life the man consults with his wife or his mother. It is said that the Ukrainian woman has a considerable share in the development of the new Ukrainian nationalism. As early as the turn of the century the women's periodical Rodnij Krai (place of publication Poltava) contained demands for a purification of the nation and the race from foreign elements; the racial unity of the Ukrainians was particularly emphasized. (81)

81. Yuriy Lypa: "The Ukrainian Woman" in Die Frau, April 1938.

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361 About the villages of the Russians and the Ukrainians Shevchenko wrote in his Turkestan diary - he kept it hidden in his boot tops - that the Russian, in contrast to the Ukrainian, is born with a dislike of everything green. "A village of Great Russia, according to a statement of Gogol, is a heap of rough beams piled one on top of the other, with black holes in place of windows, surrounded by eternal dirt and eternal winter. There is not a single green twig to be seen. Behind the village there extend impenetrable forests - but it seems as though the village had purposely crept out of this impenetrable garden onto the highway and spread out in two rows along the road, built inns and on the village square a little church and a pub, and that was all it needed. Such an antipathy against the beauties of nature is inconceivable. How different the Ukraine! The white friendly little houses in town and city nestle in

361 the shadows of cherry and mahaleb trees. There every poor farmer adorns his dwelling with lovely, ever-smiling nature..."

Where there is no local building commission, where the street finds its own way, where the four corner posts of a house are set in humus, where no cellar is dug, there/134/the houses and villages grow out of the ground willfully like mushrooms. These are the cluster villages. The villages built in rows with streets are found in the newly settled regions of the Ukrainian steppes and the Kuban. In this new country the Ukrainians, [369] who otherwise love villages, also live on isolated farms. In the north and along the rivers they build wooden houses, and in the steppes, houses of loam. Even in the cities stone houses are rare. Flowers, hollyhocks and sunflowers are to be found in front of every cottage. As a rule, the Ukrain-
342 ian farmhouse has two to three rooms. Whether it houses a poor family or a rich one, the ground plan is always the same; only the size varies. There is the vestibule with the summer kitchen and one half of the stove that extends through the wall; the other half stands in the large livingroom where cooking takes place in the winter, where the family lives, where they receive guests and where everyone sleeps. Then there is also a small storage chamber. The furnishings of the large room are simple and clean: there is a bench running all the way around the large, decorated clay stove and around the room; a rough table and a few chairs stand in the corner, also a sleeping platform for the parents, and a chest. Many icons, "the gods", decorate the wall. Since the barns are very primitive and draughty, a new-born calf or a young lamb that needs warmth is sometimes brought into the room when the winters are cold.

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000 Seventeen ingredients are supposed to go into

11:Obermaier--142 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1

262 Seventeen ingredients are supposed to go into the favorite dish of the Ukrainians, borscht, a soured beet soup. The Ukrainian cuisine also favors porridges made from various cereals, cooked in water and served with milk, cream or fat. The Ukrainian also loves his boiled vareniki, thinly rolled dough filled with pot cheese, chopped meat, cabbage or fruit. In West Ukraine the poor farmers must be content with potatoes, rye bread and turnips. The gentlemen farmers among the Ukrainians are the wealthy Kuban Cossacks who /135/ consume bacon and milk for breakfast, borscht, groats, fowl or fish for dinner, and fruit, cold borscht, melons and bacon in the afternoon, and vareniki in the evening. This is how it was in the Kuban paradise in the good old days.

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When the cold east wind silently passes through
512 the steppes or the west wind brings snow and wraps the Ukraine in white, when communication practically ceases between the villages, and nights and sleep are long, then the women sit down to their spindles and the men fetch their looms from
463 from the sheds. All the family clothing, the underwear and linen for the house that is needed
286 throughout the year, is made by hand during the long cold winter months, just as it was in our country /Germany/ in medieval households before the days of urban craftsmen. They make rope shoes and shoes of leather in regions where the ground is stony; they weave linen and woolen fabrics, sew shirts - during the hot summer often the only article of women's clothing except for their narrow aprons - and cut winter jackets from sheep
[53] skins. They embroider lovely bright-colored patterns in endless variety on the shirts and the smooth skins of the furs, on tablecloths and towels, for the artistic talents of the Ukrainian people are incomparable. They carve in wood, model in clay and paint it, and weave carpets.

model in clay and paint it, and weave carpets.

574 The long winter days pass pleasantly when people visit each other and work in a neighbor's house for a change. They tell each other legends of epic proportions from the nation's past, ghost stories and village gossip.

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776 The life of the Ukrainian people is full of profound symbolism. As is the case with many other things in this country, religion still has many primitive elements. There is no other Christian people that has preserved as much pre-Christian, heathen ideology down to our own day as the Ukrainians have. /136/ For, besides God and the devil, the world beyond is inhabited by many good and evil spirits that also move about in our world, crossing the path of man in hundreds of ways, and bringing him good things or bad. One must be on one's guard against these mighty foes; one must keep away from them and not anger them. The good spirits should be offered thanks and sacrifices. Primitive magic! For the spirit of the field which can be a bird or some other animal, a swath of ripe grain must be left untouched, otherwise it might take its departure. The spirit of the field can also be a female creature, a rusalka or nymph. In spring, when the rusalki dance in the grain field, one may not cross the fields.

The domestic spirit is a faithful friend of the house who has picked out a place for himself beside the warm stove. He protects the house; danger is near when he whimpers or groans. If people move they manifestly invite him to go along by offering him bread and salt.

You protect yourself from the forest spirit who rules over the beasts of the forest and can turn into a fox or wolf by swearing loudly. You protect yourself from the whirlwind by exorcism

ML or by making signs with your fingers. This giant with the full lips can be seen in the bridal procession of the "impure forces". Impure forces are the suicides, the condemned, dead witches and magicians, dogs, cats, mice and human beings who have died unbaptized. It is dangerous to offend the whirlwind. He is a violent spirit, he pulls apart haystacks and stacks of grain, destroys roofs and uproots trees. On St. John's Night the witches ride toward the bare mountain near Kiyev. They are the ones who are responsible for droughts, they disperse clouds and steal stars.

If children are malicious the devil has surely exchanged their souls for an evil spirit; he has exchanged their skin and they become changelings /young imps/.

Female forest spirits, mauka, entice the lonely wanderer to dance and then tickle him to death. No less /137/ dangerous are the vampires who suck a sleeper's blood from his veins. In the case of people who are suspected of being witches, sorcerers or vampires, one cuts their tendons after death, puts a padlock through their lips and binds their hands and feet, in order to prevent them from returning. A custom which probably goes back to the time when the Greeks founded cities and carried on trade along the north coast of the Black Sea, is that of giving passage money to the dead. To this day in the Ukraine, coins are placed on the eyes of the deceased for his journey into the other world.

A spirit is always held responsible for every pain, whether it be in the infected root of a tooth or in the small of the back. Wormwood is the best protection against evil spirits.

The litany of these popular beliefs, which are not merely memories of times long past, but were in daily use in pre-war Ukraine, could be carried on for a long time.

000 The living faith of pagan times occupies

11: Obermaier--145 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1
The Living faith of pagan times occupies
among the people, a position which is equal with
the Christian belief. The Orthodox Church,
doubtless recognizing how deeply rooted the popular
customs are, has tried to reconcile the two.

769 The ancestor cult is particularly important.
The Ukrainian people entertain their ancestors on
Christmas Eve. The table is set and the whole
family are seated at it. Only a few seats are unoccupied
- for the ancestors. Their bowls are
filled with the traditional Christmas food:
cooked wheat with honey and poppy, cooked fish
and a cooked fruit mixture. "Little Father Frost"
is also invited on Christmas Eve by the master of
the house. The peasant steps in front of his
house and calls: "Frost, frost, come and have
supper with us!" Every guest, even the beggar,
is welcome on Christmas Eve, for he might be an
ancestor or Father Frost whom even the priest
[789] does not forget specially to invite. Hay is laid
under the tablecloth on the nights around the
winter solstice, for all green things /138/
drive away the evil spirits. The place of honor
in the house belongs to the "grandfather", a
533 sheaf of grain, symbolizing the ancestor. In
the twelve magical nights between Christmas Eve
and the Three Kings the famous koliad, pagan
songs about the solstice, with a Christian flavor,
exorcise all evil. Jesus Christ, Dazhdboh the sun
god, and the Virgin Mary, all three are conjured
up in one and the same song, in order to protect
these worthy Christians.

527 The carnival belongs to the women; the men
789 have nothing to do with it, although on other
occasions they do not scorn merry revels. On a
Monday morning the married women of the village
gather in the pub in order to begin a week of
jolly drinking. This, too, of course, cannot
pass without magic. The sorcery revolves about
the "koloda", a stick which symbolizes a child.
It is wound with tow and is now "born". The women
congratulate each other on the "birth" with horilka,

527 789 grain whiskey. The revelry lasts all week just as in the case of a real birth.

527 771 769 The spring festival, the resurrection of nature, has for a long time coincided with the Christian Easter, the resurrection of the Lord, and the burial of Christ with the burial of winter. On Easter Sunday the Christian service and the pagan cult complement each other in a strange way. Scarcely has the priest prayed for the blessing of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost to descend upon his congregation, when the women join hands and dance around the church. It is a custom dating from ancient times to announce to the ancestor the beginning of field work at the spring festival, so that he can give them help and support. "Oh, ancestor!" the women sing on this occasion, "we plow the field, oh ancestor, we announce to you that we plow, that we sow, that we reap!" (82)

789 527 The custom of "plowing-under", observed even before the First World War in East Ukraine when the field work begins, is probably unique. Again it is the women who, stark naked, exorcise the magic forces /139/ by drawing a plow over the nocturnal fields, and furrowing the earth amid a great deal of noise. Woe to the man who might eavesdrop on this grandiose fertility rite! The mischief-maker would have to pay dearly for it. (83) The drinking bout which the naked peasant women celebrate near the church after they have finished their magic rite is called "lightning".

533 These are the same women who sing the lovely Ukrainian songs while they are working in the fields in spring and summer; for the Ukrainian be-

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82. According to a verbal communication of the Ukrainian ethnographer and archaeologist V. Shcherbakivskyj, Prague.

83. Zelenin: Russian (East Slavic) Folk Studies.

533 lieves that song is a part of work, and he has special symbolic songs for every type of work.

529 769 The Monday a week after Easter is dedicated to the ancestors. Well supplied with food and drink, the whole families set out for the cemeteries, just as in the days of Vladimir, in order to observe the death cult. They sit down on the graves of their ancestors, eat the food they have brought, share it with the dead by placing the latters' portion beside the Christian cross made of wood, and they do not forget to empty a small glass of horilka over it. The dead are honored if the visitors leave their graves in an elevated mood.

776 Summer passes by with the customary field work. It is a glorious time, the pumpkins and the melons ripen, the hollyhocks bloom again and people sleep out in the open. The harvest begins not without symbolic rituals; for the spirits must be thanked and one must pray for good weather. When the grain has been stored in the barns, the priest consecrates the harvest wreath, the grains of which are mixed among the seed the following year.

793 In the midst of this strange pagan-Christian world, the priest lives and works as the representative of Christ on earth. He knows the customs of the people from the time he is a child, and he joins in on many occasions. It is not sacrilegious when during a difficult birth he places the church key on the belly of the woman in labor, when he administers the Holy Sacrament to sick cattle or seals graves so that the dead may not /140/ return. Both shepherd and flock most earnestly believe that such deeds are efficacious and pleasing in the sight of God.

771 178 The First World War, the civil wars and finally the Bolshevist cudgel have destroyed this world; faith and superstition, holy mass and the spirit cult were no longer tolerated.

/141/

Hunger Overcomes Resistance

178 Bolshevism tore the Ukrainians away from their past and hurled them, as it were, into a dark, unknown future. They were thrown from one extreme into the other, not only with regard to religion, but also in a social, economic and political respect. They were thrown from unlimited individualism into a society where all are supposed to be equal.

When Bolshevik slogans spread through the Ukrainian villages there was a great deal that was
423 ripe for oblivion. Czarist Moscow, the great princes of the Church and the wealthy gentry had exerted themselves precisely to keep the populace in a state of ignorance and to prevent any kind of enlightenment. The masses were thus more tractable and the existing order was not endangered. Nevertheless, with thrift and industry the peasants had succeeded in considerably enlarging their land after serfdom was abolished in 1861, to the
[162] detriment of the landed proprietors. In 1861 the peasants owned 45.7% of 48.1 million hectares, in 1916 they owned 65%. (84) The rest was the property of the lords of the manor, the church and the state.

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241 With the rapid increase in population there was a great land shortage, especially in North Ukraine, even after the distribution of land in 1861. Conditions had not improved much since 1830, when the representative of the nobility of the Poltava district reported in the Senate that in his district "there was a perceptible shortage of land and dire poverty". (85) In Podolia,

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84. Kubiyovich: Geography of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 360.

85. Veit: Farming Economy and Agrarian Set-up of South Ukraine, page 32.

423 Volhynia, and in the northern guberniyas more than
241 half the land belonged to large estates before the First World War, and the rest was divided among the small /142/ farmers with many children, who barely earned a laborer's living. Since the small farmers could not live from the yield of their one- to four-hectare fields, they tried to supplement their income by doing other work. They hired themselves out as day laborers to the estates and rented land from the lords of the manor - in the part of the Ukraine on the right bank of the river especially from Jews who, for their part, were tenants on a large scale - for a wickedly high rent.

In the South Ukrainian steppe, which was not settled until late, conditions were different. This steppe occupies about three-sevenths of the surface of present-day Soviet Ukraine. When Catherine II had cleared the steppe of Crimean Tatars and the Caucasian peoples, she sent for foreign colonists, especially Germans to settle the land. The influx of settlers from all sides was so great that in some parts there was a shortage of land even at the beginning of the 19th century, and the descendants of the first settlers were in turn, obliged to emigrate in the middle
241 of the century. But in general there was enough land. Steppe farming which was once pasture farming, underwent a basic transformation. Since grain was well paid, the farmers and estate owners turned the scar of the steppes into arable land; thus what was once rich pastureland became in the end, poor pastureland. In terms of territory, no less than 75 to 90% of the entire soil was arable, so that there was a shortage of feed for the draft animals. People were forced to limit the number of oxen and horses they kept and return to extensive farming, plowing the soil with four light horses and a light plow, rather than with eight heavy oxen and a heavy plow.

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In the Kuban region the farmers made things particularly easy for themselves. There, around the turn of the century you could see the Cossack riding over the stubble field, not for pleasure, but with a bag of wheat slung around his shoulders, from which he scattered seed between sheer stubbles or even on fallow ground.

A wild grazing culture, the most primitive form of agriculture, in which a field is sown with the same type of seed /143/ until it is exhausted and then is left fallow, was still customary around 1850 in South Ukraine. The next higher stage of agriculture, the three-fallow system, where the soil is alternately cultivated with winter grain followed by summer grain and a year's fallow, has been preserved to this day in Podolia, Polesia and parts of Central Ukraine, in spite of the agrarian revolution. The modern crop rotation system which has long since been introduced in the western and central European countries was not adopted until before the war when it came from Galicia to Volhynia and into Central Ukraine.

The steppe demands its own method of cultivation. Where soil moisture is so slight that clover and potato cultures do not thrive, our crop rotation system is from the start impossible to carry out. Experiments in growing a drought-resistant steppe clover have not yet brought the desired results. Thus for the time being the old method of agriculture is retained in the steppes: winter grain, summer grain (wheat or barley), fallow. Experience has shown that the fallow could be successfully replaced by corn, but the farmers did not want to take up the new culture even at the time of the New Economic Policy, "because of indifference". (86)

86. Veit: Farming Economy and Agrarian Set-up of South Ukraine, p. 93.

241 It is almost unbelievable that in many regions of the steppe the planted surface is not ploughed up, or in any case only superficially with a land-parer. The purpose is to conserve soil moisture. Often the entire sowing, the entire spring work of the farmer consists of a single process. A light land-parer scratches the surface; it has a box attached to it containing the seed, and the harrow is attached to this "ploughing and sowing machine". With this type of sowing one necessarily reaps a lot of weeds.

243 438 Nevertheless, before the war the Ukraine enjoyed the reputation of being a granary. Durin the years 1909 to 1913 the country produced on an average of 8.6 million more tons of grain annually than it consumed. The annual export amounted to /144/ an average of 4.3 million tons of wheat alone and 2.7 million tons of barley. (87) Surplus and export dropped considerably under Bolshevik rule. In 1934 only one million tons of grain were exported.

87. Kubiyovich: Geography of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 390.

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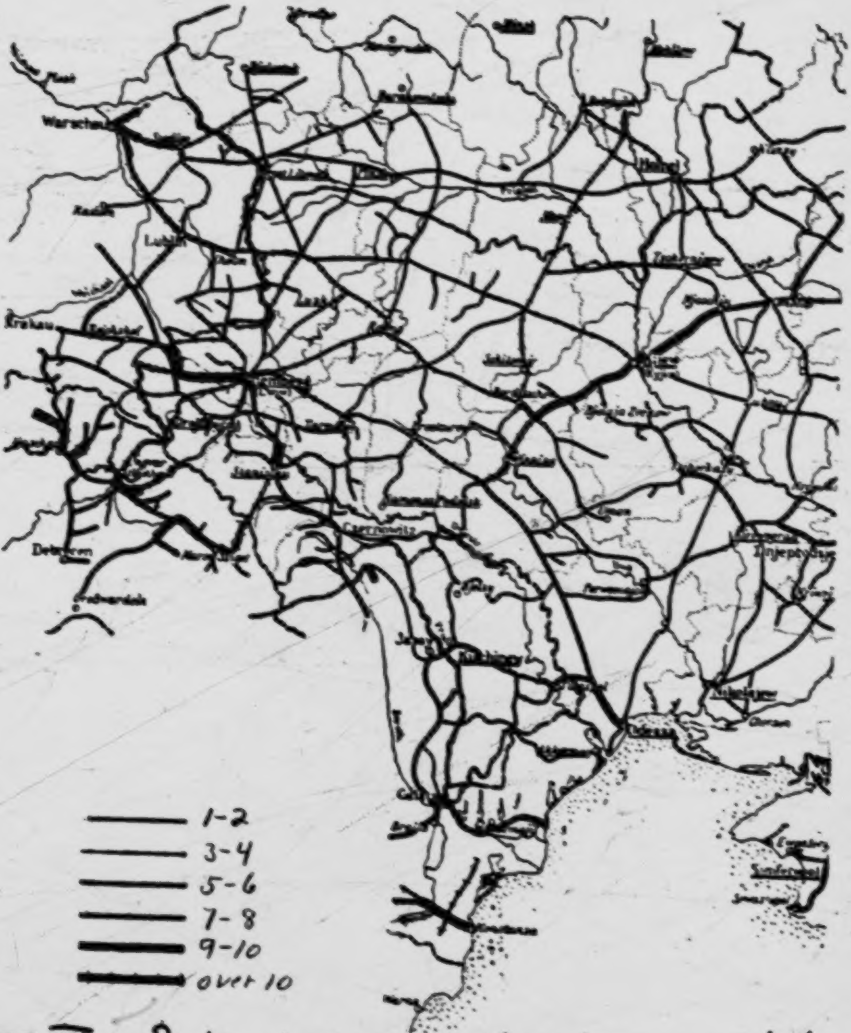
425 669 In 1917, when the Bolsheviks became active, the general feeling in North and Central Ukraine was extremely favorable to an agrarian revolution. The land-hungry peasants were deeply convinced of the fact that the "right of the landowner was an injustice". Whoever promised the peasants that they were to receive all the lan they could themselves cultivate, had won them over to his cause. As a matter of fact, in 1917, at the beginning of the revolution, the lands of the estate owners and the large farmers were immediately divided up, in the process of which the estates often went up in flames and

425 the cattle were burned. However, the glorious
669 state did not last long. The farmers lacked seed,
machines and draft animals in order to cultivate
the land they so easily obtained. Besides, the
men who came back from the war and the landless
village farmers wanted to have a share in the
booty. In the guberniyas of Kiyev and Khar'kov
the government claimed the forests and the extensive beet fields. Civil wars, drought and epidemics carried off hundreds of thousands of
peasant families during the years of the Bolshevist
war. Thus ended the first chapter of the agrarian
revolution, so eagerly awaited.

423 The New Economic Policy with its tolerance
241 of a "bludgeoned private economy" constituted
the second chapter. The peasants obtained their
land and their farms on long leases; they could
cultivate their land as they pleased, except that
the farm could not be carelessly run, otherwise
the management of the establishment could pass
over into other hands. Nothing was gained by
the fact that all the land belonged to the community. The "communal fields" were a Russian form
of possession which had found favor at the time
of Catherine II in the steppes and in the part of
the Ukraine on the left bank of the river. Even
though the farmer could not dispose of his land
497 at any time like a free /Facing page 144/ /Map
IX: Railroad Communications. The main lines of
communication run in a north-south direction,
whereas the east-west lines have always been
neglected./ /Key: Number of daily passenger trains
423 in 1935./ /145/ estate owner, even though he was
241 obliged to acquiesce to the fact that the entire
community property was redistributed every 10 to
20 years, nevertheless, he could do as he pleased
on his section of land. No less than 88.9% of
peasant land in the Ukrainian steppes belonged to
the communities, and in North Ukraine, 80.4%.
The czars had condoned this form of ownership,
because it simplified administration, facilitated

11: Obermaier--152A J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1


Warschau
Radom
Lublin
Krakau
Debrecen
Czernowitz
Kischinew
Odessa
Nikolajew
Dnjepropetrowsk
Simferopol
1-2
3-4
5-6
7-8
9-10
over 10

[Map IX: Railroad communications, cf. complete legend. P. 152]

11: Obermaier--152B J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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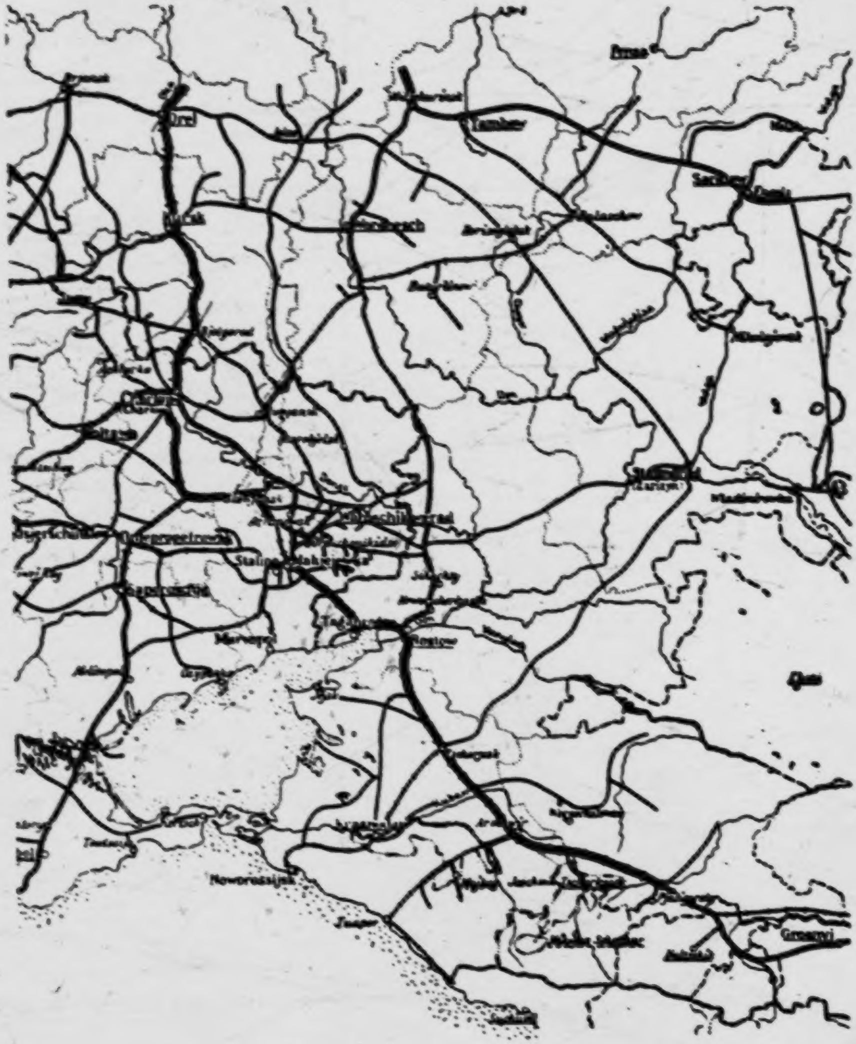
Orel
Tambow
Stalino
Rostow
Noworossijsk

[Map IX: Railroad communications]

403 tax collection and, finally, also corresponded
241 to the patriarchal order. It was only in the former Polish Ukraine on the right side of the river that purely private ownership was retained. The Bolshevik NEP now very cleverly fastened on to the community field system.

241 With the restoration of peace and order during the NEP years the social life of the peasant country again attained its equilibrium. The families which before that were broken up or dismembered now came together again. At the same time, great efforts were made to raise the productive capacity of the new family farms by means of technical education, and in this the young farmers were particularly eager to join. At that time, a German observer wrote: "In the activity of the youth organizations in the villages we see an expression of the deep longing to be freed at last from 'the power of darkness' and not always to stand apart while the civilized races divide up the treasures of the earth among themselves." (88)

88. Veit: Farming Economy and Agrarian Set-up of the South Ukraine, page 69.

403 This hopeful development was abruptly inter-
241 rupted by the subsequent third phase of the agra-
474 rian revolution, the transfer of the individual
185 peasant farm to communal ownership of all village inhabitants. It was only by means of collectivism, the coordination of the farms with the communes in the other economic fields, that the Bolshevik regime could last; it was only in this way that one could strike at the root of Ukrainian nationalism, and only thus carry out the Five Year Plan. For industrial development with the purchase of foreign /146/ machines had to be paid for by exporting agricultural products. All that was needed now was a command, in order to maintain the export of the necessary amounts of grain at the prescribed price.

550 the prescribed price.

According to ideas in Moscow, the score had
474 to come out even. It could not be difficult at
475 last to introduce more modern agricultural methods
along with the collective farms. The tractors,
it was believed, would surely bring it about.
However, Moscow made its figures without consulting the Ukrainian farmer whose individualistic bent and stubborn adherence to private property were to cause the equalizers the worst difficulties imaginable.

Collectivism began in the year 1928 with wonderful promises. In 1929 only 2% of the planted surface of the Ukraine was communal and cultivated according to a plan. In other words, there was resistance along the whole front! Now extortionate taxation was applied. Unlimited taxation in money and grain made the peasants ripe for the "voluntary" adoption of the collective. Hotbeds of resistance were exterminated. There was now no turning back in this agrarian revolution from above, for the Five Year Plan was at stake. A Ukrainian victory would have had incalculable consequences for Moscow. Not in vain had the Muscovites been trained from the time of Ivan the Terrible and particularly by Peter the Great and Catherine to break down stubborness. The methods which the Bolsheviks now used to assert their will were old; it was only the technique that was new.

Compulsory collectivism on a large scale began in 1929 with the suppression of free sales of products from the individual farms with the removal of surplus and with political persecution. There was almost nothing left over from the 1929 harvest. Planting in 1930 was inadequate, for the work of those who were exiled had to be added to the regular work. In 1931 conditions worsened. The lack of draft animals was simply catastrophic, for the farmers had /147/ slaughtered all the cattle that should have been

474 475 given to the collective without compensation. The country people carried on sabotage wherever possible. The Bolsheviks retaliated with relentless and merciless war. The Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Skrypnyk complained in July 1932 at the Party Conference in the presence of Molotov and Kaganovich: "Absolutely everything has been taken away from us. That is why we are without bread, that is why we are suffering from hunger." (89) There was not enough manpower to bring in the harvest, so the authorities combed the streets of the cities and forthwith transported in trucks to the villages everyone who could not give a satisfactory account of himself. The gipsy bands - some of them had German passports - escaped toward the west. In the spring of 1933 famine took its toll of countless peasant families in one of the most fertile regions of the earth, and those that remained alive nourished themselves on roots and grass or fled into the cities of stone and wood in order to find bread there. According to accounts of the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, Kosior, at the Party Conference in Kiyev, about 300 million pood of grain was lost in the 1932 harvest, because it was not harvested but it rotted in the fields or at the collection centers. (90) For a long time now it was not the individual farmers who practiced sabotage in order to escape the collective, it was the Kolkhoz (collective farms) themselves that bitterly resisted Moscow's demands. The Ukrainian communists and Soviet officials were

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89. Visti for July 11, 1932.

90. Kovalevskyj: Chervony Terror na Ukraini, p. 123 ff./Red Terror in the Ukraine/

474 accused of collaboration in preventing the warehousing of grain. As early as December 6, 1932
425 the Council of the People's Commissars came to the following decision: "The resistance of those communists who in reality have become leaders of the sabotage, as well as the passive and favorably disposed attitude of various Party organizations toward this sabotage shall be liquidated." (91)

91. Salisnyak: "The Struggle Between the Ukraine and Moscow in the Soviet Union" Nation und Staat, July-November, 1937.

In 1933, after a four-year struggle, the resistance of the Ukrainian people against that new order which seemed to the Muscovites to be the purpose of the state, was broken. Moscow, /148/ without any regard for the victims among its opponent, had fought a hard battle of nationalities and won. The Communist of December 11, 1934 gives a faint picture of the extent of this catastrophe when it reports that during the period of collectivization 200,000 Ukrainian farms were destroyed and their owners along with their families were exiled to North Russia.

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563 The Bolshevik agrarian revolution with all its consequences also did not spare the descendants of those German emigrants who had moved to the Ukraine between 1789 and 1842. The promise of abundant arable land and freedom of religious worship had at one time attracted these sectarians to this country. They were industrious, capable people who rapidly increased their possessions and multiplied. In 1914 there were 600,000 of them in the region of the Black Sea, 100,000 in the North Caucasus and 200,000 in Volhynia,

which at that time belonged entirely to Russia. (92) These 900,000 German colonists cultivated 4.9 million desiatiny*/desiatina, pl. desiatiny: Russian measure of land = 2.70 acres. Editor/ of land or an area as large as Alsace Lorraine, Baden and Württemberg combined. They had been given 700,000 desiatiny as colonization land, and bought an additional 4.2 million desiatiny since then.

These Germans achieved important things in agriculture. They introduced the iron plough and agricultural machinery into the Ukraine. Their attempt to plant forests in the steppes in order to check the eternal wind of the steppes and the severe dust storms did not bring the success desired. But they magically produced vineyards and orchards on soil that no one cared to cultivate. In the North Caucasus, on the other hand, they tried in vain to cultivate grapes and silkworms, before establishing tree nurseries which were to become famous throughout the realm of the czars. In 20 years they sold 20 million of the finer sorts of fruit trees from these nurseries and an equal number of berry bushes and /149/ ornamental trees. Besides that they developed the breeding of Ardennes horses and valuable beef cattle. (93) But this does not exhaust the achievements of the German colonists. They invented a special way of weaving light cotton fabrics which are very well adapted to the climate.

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92. Stumpp: Achievements and Importance of the German Colonists in Russia, in Deutschtum im Ausland, Number 5, 1939, page 251.

93. Strumpp: Achievements and Importance of the German Colonists in Russia, page 256.

11: Obermaier--158 J-3(no date)1942 RDlUkraineRDl

563 German wheelwrights (Ukrainian: "stel'makh"), carpenters, smiths and locksmiths (Ukrainian:"sl'usar") were very much in demand. Before the First World War there were 100 German shops in Odessa, among them two bookstores. Factories for agricultural machines arose from small beginnings, and they sent their products as far as Siberia. From 80 to 90% of all Bolshevik factories for agricultural machinery were founded by Germans.

The Germans were not spared their toll of blood in the Ukraine. At the beginning of the First World War they had to suffer in the persecutions of the Czarist regime. Then they fought with Denikin and Wrangel against the Bolsheviks and were defeated. Finally the "death taxes" began, which were followed by a new civil war and the famine. No one knows how many of our compatriots lost their lives in these catastrophes. Many emigrated to Canada and the United States as long as they were still able to do so.

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474 Thus after the Ukraine was prostrate, Moscow could without danger loosen the noose. This was also dictated by the instinct for self-preservation, for bread and meat were urgently needed for the growing industrial areas. The process of making collectives out of small private properties was abandoned. When at the Seventeenth Party Congress in January and February 1934 an urgent recommendation was issued for people to lead a "joyous and happy life", those who had been murdered or who had died of hunger no longer heard it, and for the ones who were exiled it sounded like bitter sarcasm. At the same time concessions were granted in the household and horticultural economy of the members of the collectives. The new collective economy statute of 1935 permits the individual farmer to own /150/ 1 hectare of land, 1 cow and 2 heifers, 5 pigs, 10 sheep or

474 goats and poultry, whereby allowance was made for regional variations. Thus Kuban Cossacks may also keep a horse, and their individual property around the farm can be two hectares in size.

474
233 The census of cattle in 1935 showed that these concessions were necessary. This census showed that livestock in the Soviet Union had been reduced to about one-half from 1928 to 1935. At the same time the minimum during the summer of 1933 had already been overcome, and there was a gradual increase in cattle-raising noticeable. From 1928 to 1935 the number of horses had decreased from 5.5 million to 2.5 million, that of horned cattle from 8.5 to 4.9 million, the number of pigs from 6.9 to 4.8 million, and that of goats and sheep from 9.8 to 1.8 million. Conditions were similar in the Kuban region. (94) The Kolhosp /abbrev. for 'collective farm' in Ukrainian; Kolkhoz in Russian. Editor/ had completely failed in cattle-raising.

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241 What is it that grows in the region of the Soviet Union settled by Ukrainians? Individual cultures have always been subject to considerable fluctuation. During the NEP period the cultivation of wheat receded and rye cultivation increased. The land was extensively farmed, few horses were kept and more sheep. Then came the Bolsheviks and introduced their "rational method of cultivation". That the result of it is not satisfactory was admitted by Stalin at the Eighteenth Congress in March 1939, when he stated that collectivism in the Soviet Union had, it is true, embraced 93.5% of the entire peasantry, but that he could not

94. Kubiyovich: Atlas of the Ukraine and the Bordering Areas, page 38.

241 conceal the fact that the grain harvest of 1938 was only one-sixth larger than that of 1913, whereas the population had increased by nearly 30

According to the latest statistics, 80% of the entire arable soil is cultivated, while 20% of it is left fallow. Of the total cultivated surface of all Ukrainian provinces, 76% is plante to grain, 57% of which consists of wheat /151/ and rye, 33% of barley, oats and corn, 10% of millet and buckwheat. Of the entire cultivated area 9% is occupied by industrial plants, chiefly sugar beets and sunflowers, 8% by potatoes, vegetables and legumes, and 7% by fodder. Of the 160 million hectares of land planted to wheat throughout the world in 1933, 12 million hectares fell to the Ukrainian provinces. This gave them third place after the USA with its 17 million hectares and British India with 14.6 million hectares. (95) But the hectare yields in the Ukrainian provinces are uncommonly low according to German ideas and in view of the excellent soil. They amount to 9.2 doppelzentner /two hundred weights = 100 kilograms = 220.50 lbs./of wheat (Germany: 22 doppelzentner) and 9.2 doppelzentner of rye (Germany: 17.5 doppelzentner). (96) The careless method of cultivating the soil, on the one hand, and the insufficient amount of precipitation on the other, are to blame for these low yields.

249 The sunflower is a cultivated plant that is little known in our country. Its region of cultivation begins in eastern Podolia, runs along

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95. Kubiyovich: Geography of the Ukraini and Bordering Areas.

96. Deminskij: "The Economy of the Ukraine" in Deutsche Berufserziehung, Number 15 and 16, page 135.

249 the coast of the Black Sea, divides into two wide branches at the Sea of Azov, one of which extends up to the Volga and the other down to Ciscaucasia. In the Kuban region the sunflower occupies up to 30% of the entire cultivated land. The lovely blossoms with their coffee-brown centers and their wreath of yellow rays are improbably large in the Kuban country. Oil mills press out the seeds and manufacture table oil from them. The Kuban "dessert varieties" are valued as a delicacy, the seeds of which are eaten like nuts and are as large as dates. In the last few years the cultivation of cotton has been newly introduced all around the Sea of Azov. But its yield is very small, and the surface cultivated fluctuates from year to year. Between 1931 and 1935 an average of about 300,000 hectares was planted. The attempts to grow rice in the Dnepr plains are also new.

*

474 /152/ What is a collective farm? The Bolsheviks distinguish between the so-called Soviet farms, the communes and the artels, both also called kolhosp. The Soviet farm is a government estate in which land, buildings, livestock and goods belong to the state. The Soviet farms are supposed to be model farms for agricultural research; their average size is 1000 to 1200 hectares. They are run by "government officials".

The commune is a composite of peasant farms; the individual farms do not have a particular share of land, and it is cultivated according to a general agricultural plan. Its inventory, buildings and products are the property of the community. The members of the commune receive only a share of the yield which they need to cover their living requirements. The commune did not survive as an organizational form of Bolshevik agriculture, but the artel did. In the latter, 474 the inventory of goods, buildings and land are likewise property of the community, but the agricultural products are distributed on a share basis according to work performed, after expenses and reserves have been deducted. In contrast to the commune, the farm produce consumed by the family and the family's household economy are private. Nominally the farmer is co-owner of the kolhosp which the law describes as "agricultural common property on a cooperative basis". The rights and privileges of the farmer who has "voluntarily" joined are set forth in the statute. No compensation is paid for agricultural property brought in by the individual farm. If a farmer withdraws from the kolhosp, what he has brought in is not returned to him, but he can demand an allowance which, however, is very small and in no wise corresponds to the actual value.

162 Of the total of 44.5 million hectares of land in the Soviet Republic in 1938, 29.7 million hectares fell to the kolhosp, 1.8 million to the separate property of the kolhosp farmers, /Facing
439 page 152/ /Map X: Export of Coal and Sugar from Soviet Ukraine. (Average 1927/1928). The Ukrainian supply to the Great Russian areas of coal and sugar shows a similar development as the distribution of grain. In these products, too, export to foreign countries was small./ /153/ 1.5 million hectares to individual non-collective farmers, 4.2 million hectares to Soviet farms and 7.3 million hectares to other properties. (97)

474 From a practical point of view the kolhosp represents a large estate whose land lies round about the estate. All the members of the commune are the estate owners. Since the kolhosps are forbidden to employ outside manpower, a stranger cannot

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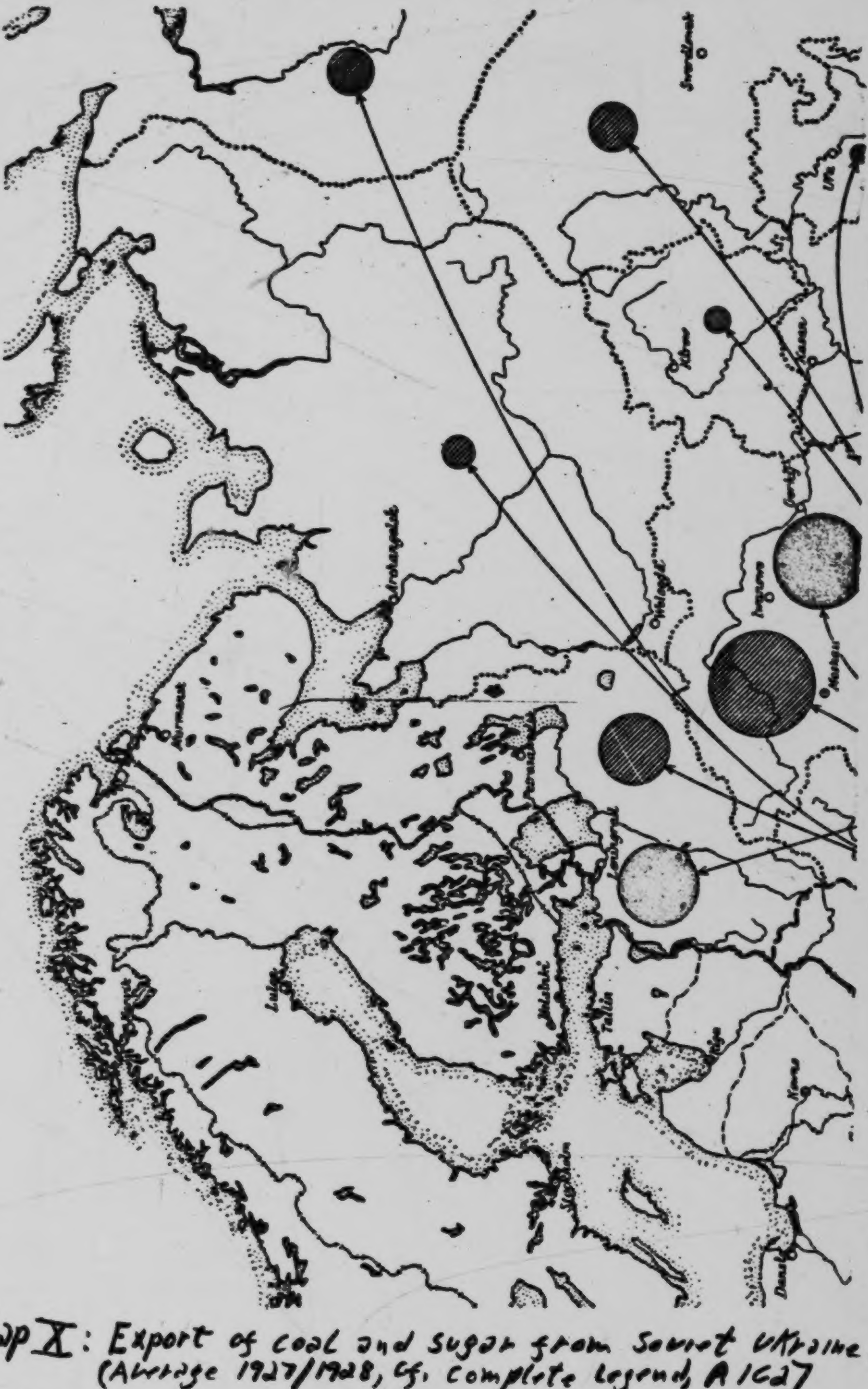
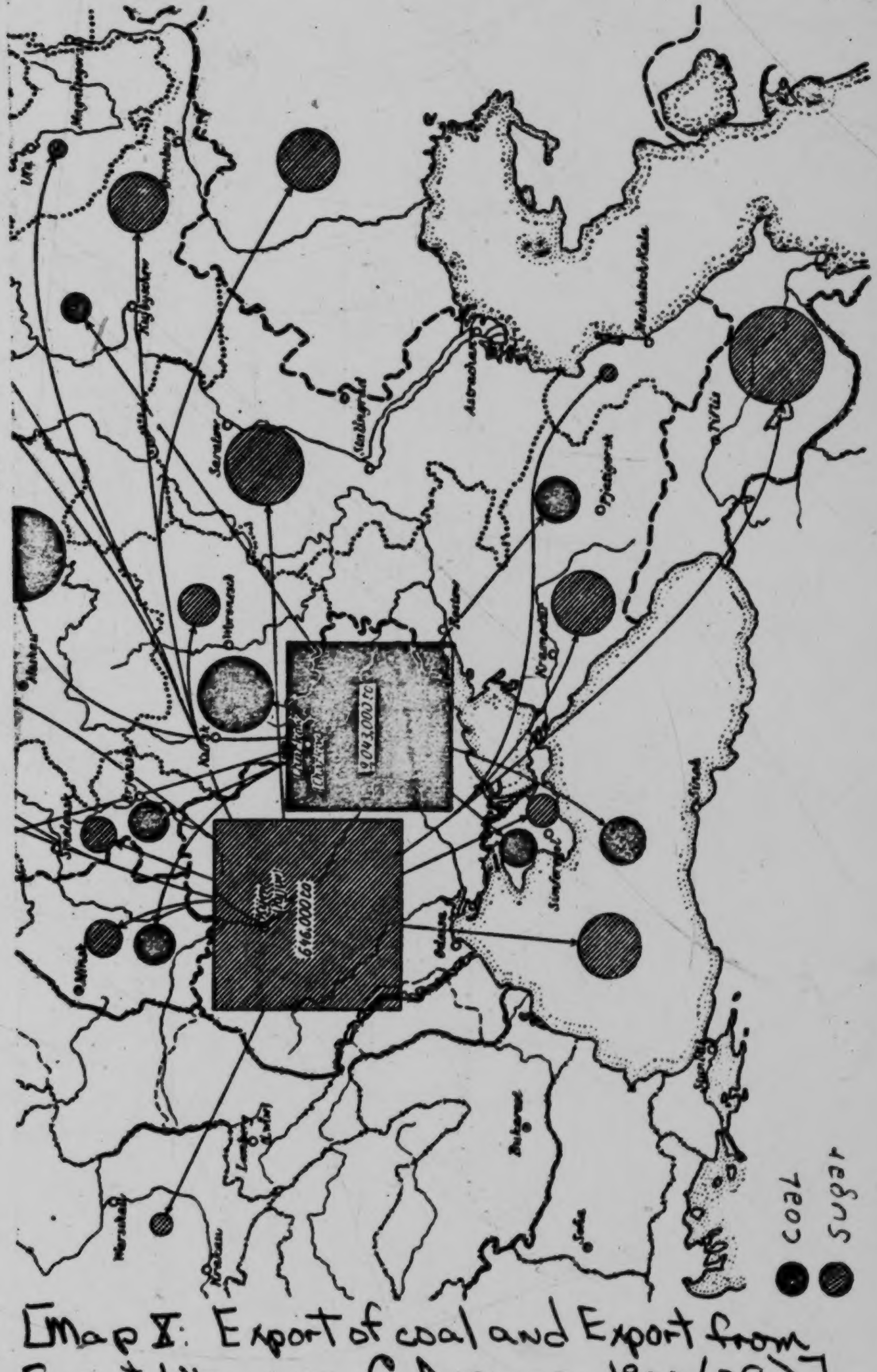
97. Deminsky: "The Economy of the Ukraine" in Deutsche Berufserziehung, No. 15 and 16, p. 135.


Murmansk
Archangelsk
Narvik
Lulea
Petrosawodsk
Leningrad
Helsinki
Stockholm
Tallin
Riga
Kowno
Danzig
Wologda
Iwanowo
Moskau
Gorkij
Kirow
Kasan
Swerdlowsk
Ufa

Map X: Export of coal and sugar from Soviet Ukraine.
(Average 1927/1928, cf. complete legend, A 1c d)


646.000 to
9043.000 to
Kijew
Charkow
Warschau
Krakau
Lemberg
Lublin
Minsk
Smolensk
Brjansk
Moskau
Kursk
Woronesch
Saratow
Kuibyschew
Orenburg
Ufa
Magnitogorsk
Stalingrad
Astrachan
Rostow
Krasnodar
Pjatigorsk
Machatsch-Kala
Tiflis
Odessa
Simferopol
Sinob
Stambul
Bukarest
Sofia
● coal
● sugar

[Map X: Export of coal and Export from Soviet Ukraine (Average 1927/28)]

474 find work in the villages. All able-bodied men and women and also young people are required to cooperate in the kolhosp. These forces are divided into so-called work brigades. Thus there is a brigade for field work, another for the grooming of horses, a third for cattle-raising and dairy farming. The farmer has turned into "comrade fieldworker", the hired man into "comrade groom", and the servant girl into "comrade milkmaid". The brigades are divided up into "lanky" (links of a chain). Since the entire system of co-owners gives ample opportunity to shirk and to blame others for one's negligence, individual "links" are now given the entire cultivation of one section of a field, from ploughing to harvesting. In this way one has, quite unintentionally, gone back more or less to the old order in which the individual farm cultivated its land in a similar manner.

The Bolshevik village community has many shortcomings. Love of work and productivity are negligible, for individual industry scarcely effects the amount of wages. But peasant industriousness cannot be dissociated from a good harvest. Therefore, efforts have been made in recent times to spur on Comrade "farm worker" by means of prizes. Distant Moscow determines the plan for sowing; the political board appoints the supervisor of the farm, although according to the statute he should be elected by the members of the kolhosp. A
475 further source of constant trouble, constant bungl-
474 ing and therefore irrevocable losses are the "machine-tractor stations" (MTS). It was precisely with these state organizations for /154/ agricultural machines that Moscow intended to remove all difficulties in the process of modernizing agriculture. Thus the kolhosp were ordered to deliver all their agricultural machinery there. The MTS were to keep it in order and at the same time constantly enlarge their stock of machines by the purchase of new tractors, ploughs, harrows, mowing

475 machines and threshing machines. At the time of
474 sowing and reaping the MTS with all their machines
were to be at the disposal of the kolhosp.

Let us now imagine a large estate without
474 draft animals and without machines. Before planting time messengers must be sent to a station that is perhaps 40 to 50 kilometers distant, with the request that machines be sent on a certain day for plowing and sowing and in fall for mowing and threshing. After long months of rest the machines of the central station were suddenly supposed to be in all villages at once. The unreliability of this arrangement is even more evident when climatic conditions demand the quickest possible execution of sowing and reaping. Within a few days the sprouting of the new seed can become decisive. The kernel can be laid into the black earth only when the rich humus is dry enough so that wagons and horses can drive over the field roads without getting stuck. But sowing must take place before the warm wind has dried out the ground. Again, at harvest time, one must take advantage of the proper moment. The grain must be sufficiently ripe but not over-ripe, otherwise it will drop out of the ears. This is the time when the German farmer goes to the field every day in order to test the ripeness of his grain. In the collective farm the idea is to be more progressive. There the agronomic supervisor of the distant MTS knows exactly when the grain at kolhosp XY has reached the proper firmness and when he can send forth his tractors and harvesters.

In 1935 there were 873 machine-tractor-
475 stations in the entire Soviet Ukraine. In 1936 it was estimated that each /155/ MTS had 70 tractors, 16 mowing-threshing machines, 50 threshing machines, 15 traction engines, 15 motors and a crew of 400 men. The supervision of an MTS consists of a technical director, his political representative, a supervising agronomist - there

475 are eight agronomists all together working at an MTS - , the chief bookkeeper and the leading mechanic. These five comrades are the actual lords of the kolhosp of their district. The local leader of a kolhosp is merely the inspector who must follow the directions of the MTS and who all too often has no idea of how to run a farm.

474 475 As to what these large agricultural projects are like in practice, we have the following reports in the Soviet newspapers: The Communist Khar'kov) of January 8, 1939 announces that in the region of Dniepropetrovsk 82,211 doppelzentner of seed grain are lacking and that in the Khar'kov region 38.5% of the necessary seed is lacking. Visti (kiyev) of March 28, 1939, under the title of: "Sowing and not waiting for the ground to dry out", published the following report by its regional correspondent in Odessa: "After the bad weather field work has begun in the Odessa region. The sun and wind dry out the soil quickly, and the kolhosp of the southern districts of the region have begun sowing individual crops... The kolhosp of 'Spartakus' district have entered the contest in honor of the Eighteenth Plenary Assembly of the Communist Party, and are carrying on their spring sowing on a large scale. More than 1000 hectares of spring crops have already been sown in the district. Comrade Shlef and Comrade Wakker who run the tractors are performing 150% of the average of work per day. During the noon recess the kolhosp agitators help the members of the kolhosp study and memorize the speech of the leader of peoples, Stalin, delivered at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party....But in spite of the present very favorable weather at present, not all the MTS of the Odessa region are ready to plant. In this region /156/ 112 tractors have not been repaired, 69 of which are caterpillar tractors. At the MTS of Andrei-Ivanov, for example, only one out of six caterpillar tractors is repaired; in the Ianiv MTS only one out of four;

474 475 in the Vradiyiv MTS not one of three. As far as the supply of seed grain is concerned, all is not well. As a result of the inactivity and lack of management of the regional office for grain supplies, only 85% of the kolhosp are supplied with select grain. It is incomprehensible why there is a lack of seed grain precisely in those kolhosp that so industriously set about planting. Every day several dozen vehicles drive up to the grain provisioning center of Golovanevsk in order to exchange grain that is unsuitable for planting, and are forced to return without seed grain. In the granary at Golovanevsk there are 2000 doppelzentner of barley which for some reason is not cleaned. The precious spring days are wasted on trips to the elevator...The leaders of those rayons which have in part begun sowing fail to readjust the kolhosp immediately to field work... The MTS are not supplied with fuel quickly enough. As a result of an insufficient supply of fuel field work can come to a standstill even during the first few days of mass sowing. The leaders of the districts and rayons ought to head the contest for a superior Stalin-harvest in honor of the Eighteenth Party Congress of the Communist Party, in which the great masses of kolhosp have determined to take part."

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On June 7 and 8, 1939 a meeting of the active committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine was held in Kiyev. Khrushchov, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the KPU stated that the harvest for this year promised to be a very good one, "but in the Bile Pole district only 18 out of 39 mowing-threshing machines were repaired, and the same was true of 19 out of 64 threshing machines and 2 out of 16 hauling machines. The situation in the /157/manufacture of sugar beets is alarming. The Odessa factory 'The Red

474 Signal' did not...deliver 100 threshing machines. 475 In the Chernigov region 70% of the necessary machine rakes are lacking; there is also a great lack of scythes... It is necessary to train 4000 persons in the handling of mowing-threshing machines, but the proper courses have not yet been organized..."

The "Sotsialistychna Zemlia" Number 114, 1939 complains: "Many kolhosp have no bags. The Storehouses in which the grain is to be kept are not rain-proof. In many kolhosp the repair of agricultural implements had to be suspended and in many others it could not even be begun because of the lack of forge coal. The shops have neither harnesses nor tar nor wagon-grease. In the region of Zhitomir only 160 out of 544 threshing machines were put into working order, and the same was true of only 143 out of 1475 motors." From the report of the representative of the Dnepropetrovsk region, Zadyonchenko, at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party, "Izvestiia" of April 6, 1939 says that in 3000 kolhosp there are only 195 Communist organizations; that there were 8 repair shops for 66 MTS, which did not suffice to repair all broken-down tractors. We could fill a book with similar complaints taken from the Soviet press.

The beneficiary of the kolhosp is first of all the Muscovite state that takes as its share up to 25% of the estimated yield at a ridiculously low price. The MTS are paid in kind for their services. Of the rest of the harvest yield the seed grain and animal fodder are segregated and about 10 to 15% of the harvest is set aside as iron reserves, - before the First World War the cautious farmer always stored up the yield of an 474 entire harvest. Finally, the members of the kolhosp receive a certain annual share of provisions, aside from current provisions; what is left over is divided up in proportion to the number of days that have been worked. For some time now an

474 attempt has been made to increase the /158/comrades' interest in the kolhosp by means of prizes.

The most recent development of the Communist village group is characterized by the fact that the farmers tacitly divide up the collective land among themselves. Such a thing is possible only if the kolhosp officials and the village Soviets are in collusion, and if there are free acres besides the lands that are cultivated by the MTS. The Communist is January 29, 1939 confirms this development when it says that in the district of Shmerynka 145 farmers owned more animals than are permissible according to law, and 135 farmers more land than is allowed. The farmers work very industriously on their own land, whereas they neglect the collective farms. At the conference of the Central Committee of the KPU the law passed in April 1939, limiting the ownership of property of the collective farmers - "law against the waste of land" - was discussed, and it was noted that in many districts collective land was divided up. It was said that in this way private ownership of land had reappeared in hidden form. Finally the Visti of June 22, 1939 announced that the "regulation of peasant property" was to take place by November 15, 1939; "regulation", however, means a recent curtailment of peasant private ownership which had been permitted since 1934. This curtailment was also in the interests of the industrial section of Soviet economy, after many workers, mostly peasant sons, went back to their native villages from the industrial areas, because they found better living conditions there.

/159/ Coal, Ore, Petroleum, Workers

642 All the conditions which, according to the teachings of Karl Marx, ought to contribute to the happiness of the workers are fulfilled in the Soviet Union and therefore also in Soviet Ukraine.

11: Obermaier--169 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1

642 On one-sixth of the world all the treasures within the earth and all that grows on top of it belong to the workers, as well as all mines, factories, and means of communication. The workers distribute the goods, they make the laws, determine the working hours, wages and prices; they also establish the deductions from wages and salaries and make out the taxes. Everyone must work, there are no persons of independent means and no capitalistic employers who can fatten on profits. The workers are the sovereign lords in the Soviet Union, and nothing prevents them from enjoying the enormous wealth of their country. Stalin had this theory in mind when he stated in his introduction to the new constitution in November 1936: "... in the field of political economy of the Soviet Union we now have a new socialistic economy which knows no depressions and no unemployment, no misery and no profit, and which grants its citizens every possibility for a life of comfort and civilization."

According to this definition, life in the Ukraine should be the most attractive; here is the country richest in natural resources in eastern Europe, with a pleasant, sunny climate. The raw B5 materials are happily balanced and are found within favorable distances between each other. There is coal, iron ore, manganese ore, water power, oil, turf, salt, potassium salts, phosphate and kaolin. There is lacking, with the exception of a certain amount of mercury and nickle, only colored metals.

361 /160/ The exploitation of Ukrainian natural resources is comparatively recent. The Englishman Hughes John established industry in the 1870s in the Donets region, and shortly thereafter Frenchmen and Belgians founded the ore industry near Krivoy Rog. The present-day industrial cities developed from the barracks of the first workers' 000 settlements. The tremendous increase in popula-

11: Obermaier--170 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1

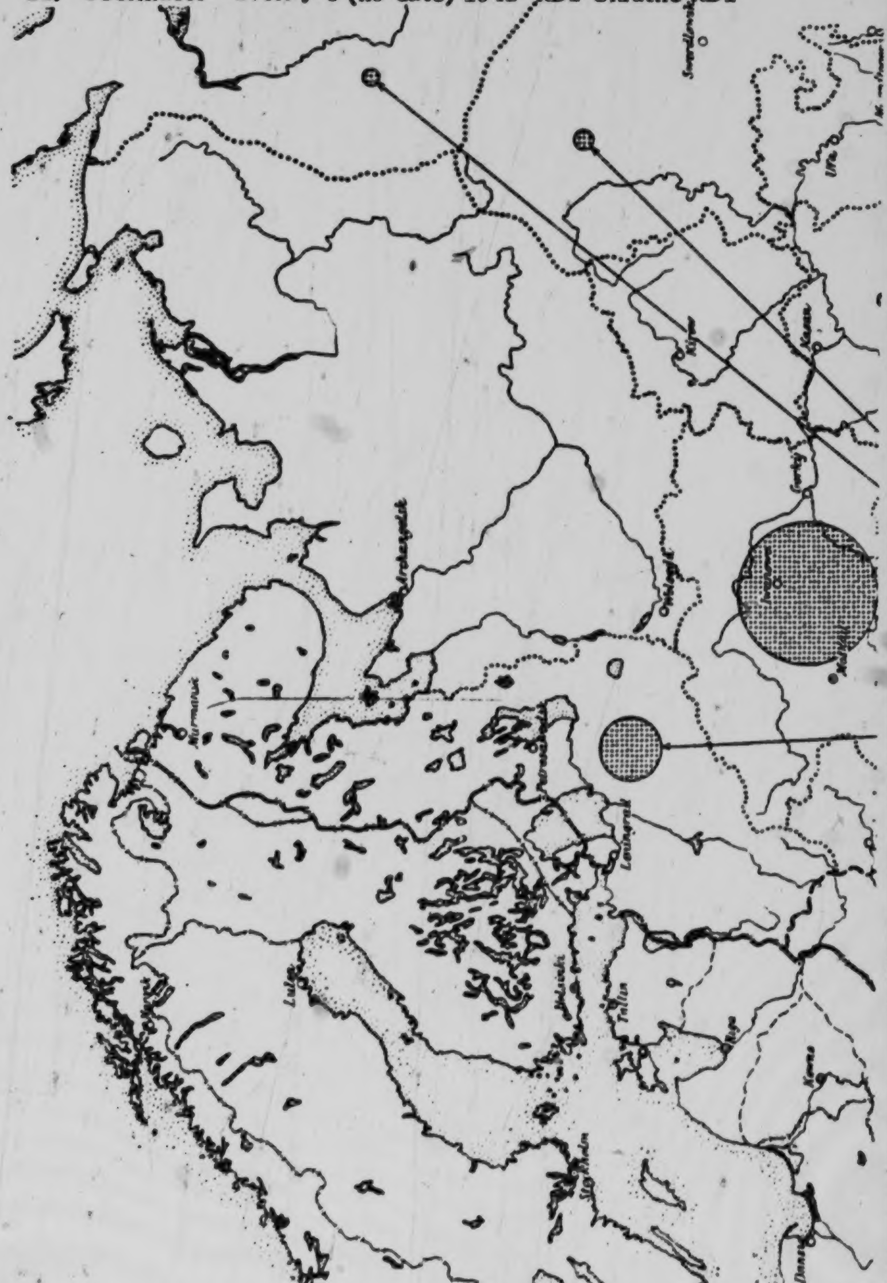
464 The tremendous increase in popula-
361 tion which the Ukraine showed after the liberation of peasants in 1861 found employment in the growing industry and in railroad construction, insofar as the surplus population did not prefer emigration to Siberia and eastern Asia. When there was less work on the farms, the farmers and farmers' sons traveled into the industrial regions, only to return to their villages at planting and harvest time. Thus a stock of Ukrainian industrial workers could not be formed; foreign Russian manpower immigrated and remained for good. In 1918 and 1919, when the Muscovite Bolsheviks broke into the Ukraine and the Russian industrial workers reinforce their ranks, the absence of a Ukrainian industrial working class was to make itself disastrously felt.

316 The world thinks of the Ukraine more as a granary than as asource of valuable raw materials. And yet, there are considerable treasures buried in Ukrainian soil. The reserve of iron ore in the Ukraine is the third largest in the world. At Krivoy Rog, 250 kilometers northeast of Odessa, according to the latest calculations there are deposited 1.25 billion tons of high percentage Bessemer ores (60 to 61%,iron content) and also considerable quantities of ferruginous quartz. In Kerch on the easternmost spur of the Crimean Peninsula there are 2.7 billion tons of phosphorous ores with an iron content of 38 to 42%, and in the northern Caucasus there are smaller deposits. The following table shows the importance of Ukrainian ore extraction for the Great
439 Russian realm: /Facing page 160/ /Map XI: Iron Ore and Steel Export from the Soviet Ukraine (Average 1927/1928). The Ukraine was the great source of steel for the industrial works around Moscow and Leningrad./ /161/

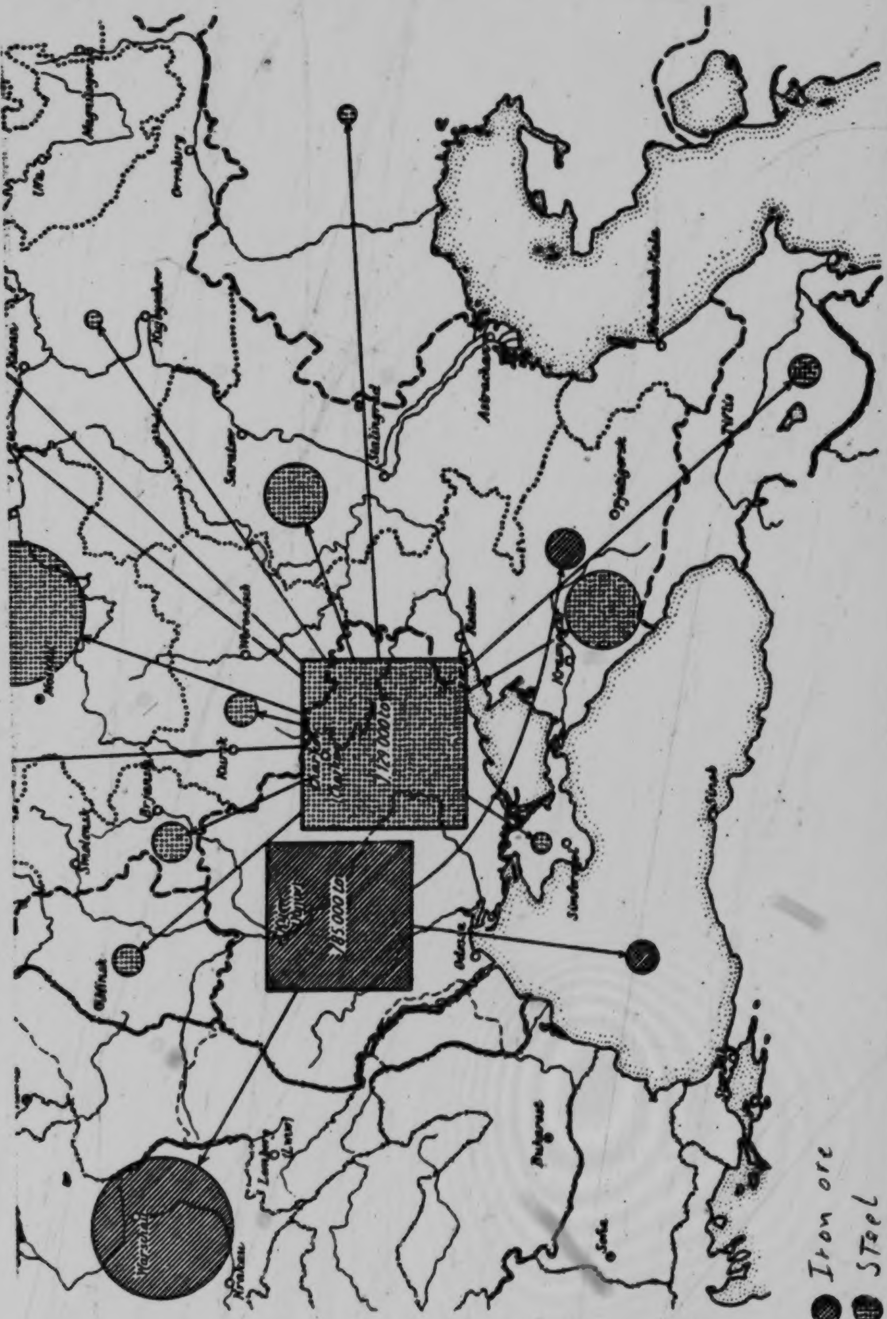
316

	Iron Ore Extraction in million tons		
	1913	1932	1935
Krivoy Rog.....	6388	7925	16,594

11: Obermaier--170A J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1


Murmansk
Archangelsk
Luleå
Helsinki
Stockholm
Tallin
Leningrad
Petrosawodsk
Wologda
Kirow
Swerdlowsk
Iwanowo
Gorkij
Kasan
Ufa
Moskau
Riga
Kowno
Danzig

[Map XI: Iron Ore and Steel Export from the Soviet Ukraine (Average 1927/1928), cf. complete Legend, p. 170]


Warschau
Krakau
Lemberg (Lwow)
Minsk
Smolensk
Moskau
Brjansk
Kursk
Woronesch
Charkow (Charkiw)
785.000 to
1.129.000 to
Kasan
Ufa
Magnitogorsk
Kuibyschew
Orenburg
Saratow
Stalingrad
Astrachan
Rostow
Odessa
Simferopol
Krasnodar
Pjatigorsk
Machatsch-Kala
Tiflis
Sinop
Bukarest
Sofia
Iron ore
Steel

[Map II: Iron ore and steel Export from the Soviet Union (Ukraine 1927/28)]

Iron Ore Extraction
in million tons(contd)

	1913	1932	1935
Kerch......	0.480	0.516	0.136
Ural.......	1778	3054	7684(98)

Well-known are the largest manganese ore deposits of the world between Krivoy Rog and the Dniepr with a reserve of approximately 400 million tons and a net content of mostly 36 to 48%. The amount of copper and mercury mined in the Donets Basin is insignificant, but the nickle deposit newly discovered in 1936 at the mouth of the Dniestr near Akkerman is very promising.

Ukrainian heavy industry is based, furthermore, on important deposits of hard coal and brown coal. There are smaller deposits along the Kuban River, but more extensive coal mines are in the Donets Basin, also called "Donbas". The total reserves of this region are estimated at 70 billion tons. The coal is deposited in three layers, at the bottom anthracite, in the middle stone coal and on top brown coal which in part can be mined in open diggings. About 58% of the Donets coal is anthracite; this is 70% of the European anthracite reserves. Only 25% of the Donets coal is brown coal and suitable for heavy industry. (99) The entire extraction of coal in the Donbas amounted to 25.2 million tons in 1913, 45.1 million tons in 1932 and 61.7 million tons in 1934. The amount mined in the rest of the Soviet Union, on the other hand, was only 32.3 million tons, and in Germany (including the Saar) in the same year, 136

98. Kubiyovich: Geography of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 447.

99. Deminskiy: The Economy of the Ukraine, page 136.

316 million tons. The beds in the Donets Basin have the advantage of being shallow and the disadvantage of being unevenly distributed and not very large. They are only three-quarters of a meter in diameter. Besides, the coal is impure and also has a high ash content. In spite of the fact that more is produced, the method of mining is antiquated.

Besides the incidence of brown coal in the Donets region, there are 120 smaller deposits in the right-bank region of the Ukraine, but they /162/ are scarcely exploited. It is presumed that there are larger deposits in this region also. In 1935 the total reserves of brown coal in the Soviet Ukraine were estimated at 550 million tons. (100) The mining of this coal is very much neglected and ore-dressing is unknown. In 1935 a total of 300,000 tons of brown coal was extracted in all the Ukrainian provinces, 240,000 tons of which came from eastern Ukraine. (101) The extensive peat bogs are merely of local importance.

315 135 When it comes to oil, the Ukrainian earth is not niggardly. Well-known as the oil fields of Drogobich and Borislav on the northern slope of the Carpathians, the reserves of which are estimated at 58 to 100 million tons. Extraction reached its height as early as 1902 when it amounted to 2 million tons or 5% of world production. Since then it has constantly decreased, amounting to 1. million tons in 1913 and an annual average of 500,000 to 600,000 tons from 1932 to 1936. (102)

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100. Kubiyovich: Geography of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 442.

101. Deminskiy: The Economy of the Ukraine, page 137.

102. Kubiyovich: Geography of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 443.

135 The third oil region lies close by the Ukrainian
border, many hundreds of kilometers distant from
the compact Russian area of settlement, not far
from the Caspis on the Terek. These reserves are
estimated at 900 million tons. In 1925 2 million
tons were extracted, in 1932 over 8 million tons,
and in 1933 somewhat more than 5 million tons.
(103) From the occurrence of inflammable and
earth gases, oil reserves are suspected to be
present on the northern coast of the Sea of Azov
and along the Dniestr. The salts in the Donets
Basin and along the Carpathians, and the sea salt
near Odessa round off the wealth of natural
resources. Potassium salts are deposited in Galicia,
potassium gluconites in East Podolia, at the Dnepr
and near Isyum; phosphates in Podolia along the
Dnestr and in northern Ukraine near Chernigov;
excellent kaolins are found in the region between
Volhynia and the Black Sea, and graphite near
312 Krivoy Rog. The entire water-power reserves of
the Ukrainian provinces are estimated at 9 million
horse power; of this only one-tenth was utilized
in 1932. /163/

329 Two industrial regions are connected with
local natural resources. These are, first, the
Donets Basin, rich in coal and salt, with coal
mines, coke plants, foundaries and steel works.
Here ore from Kerch and Krivoy Rog is smelted.
Secondly, there is the mining district of Krivoy
Rog and Mykopil on the Dnepr with iron and
manganese mines, smelting factories, foundaries and
metallurgic factories. With the completion of
the large Dnepr power plant at Zaporishea - the
normal water level was raised 37.5 meters by the
construction of a mighty cofferdam and sluice
along the entire rapids, which made the river
navigable throughout - the industrial region of Krivoy

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103. Kubiyovich: Atlas..., page 53.

327 Rog received an important complement. Supplied by the 436,000 kilowatts of the power plant, a new industrial combine was established in this region, with iron and steel works, with factories for aluminum, alloys, for cement, soda, ammonia, sulfurous acid and similar chemical products. In this district agricultural and heavy machinery is also built. The pig iron production of 47 Ukrainian blast furnaces amounted to 3.1 million tons in 1913, 4.3 million tons in 1932, and 6.7 million tons in 1934; steel production during the same years came to 2.7 million tons, 2.2 million tons and 5.4 million tons, and the production of malleable iron in each case came to 2.3 million, 2.2 million and 2.9 million tons. (104)

104. Kubiyovich: Geography of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 455.

402 The manufacture of heavy industrial raw products for machines and implements of all kinds occurs in the scattered industrial cities, especially in the part of the Ukraine on the right bank of the river. Khar'kov, with its construction of heavy machinery, agricultural machines, precision instruments and transport machines such as locomotives, railroad cars and tractors, stands at the head of Ukrainian industrial cities. In Kiyev ships, heavy machinery and chemical and electrotechnical machines are built, and in Odessa agricultural machinery, precision instruments and motor cars. Here canning and leather industry is also carried on. In Mariupil /164/ and Taganrog there are foundaries. In almost all larger harbors of the Black Sea coast, ships are built. In the Crimea there are canning and tobacco factories.

433 After Ukrainian industry suffered severe reverses as a result of the First World War and the Revolution, a wave of industrialism set in with the first Five Year Plan in 1928. The wealth of

433 the Soviet Union was to be increased according to the most modern methods. The industrialization of the agrarian country was based on existing industrial plants which were enlarged, on the opening-up of new sources of power and the establishment of large industrial combines. Foreign enterprises and above all foreign specialists assisted in a decisive way in the carrying-out of the first Five Year Plan. But the first and still fresh impulse of industrial development was broken even in 1932 at the beginning of the second Five Year Plan, the increased production figures for iron and coal to the contrary notwithstanding. Meanwhile, systems of stimulating production were introduced, such as the Udarniki Movement in 1933 (shocktroop workers) and the Stakhanov Movement of 1936, whereby production was actually increased. During the second Five Year Plan the number of industrial workers in Soviet Ukraine increased essentially more slowly than during the first. [44] In 1929 there were somewhat over 600,000 "independent workers" in the entire Soviet Ukraine, more than half of whom were coal and metal workers. In 1931 their number had increased to 900,000, in 1933 to over 1 million, and in 1935, to barely 1.2 million workers - female workers not included. (105)

105. Kubiyovich: Atlas of the Ukraine and the Area Bordering it, page 46.

By far the greater number of industries of the present Soviet Ukrainian economy still stem from the pre-war period, as for example almost all factories for agricultural machines. The only revolutionary step in this branch of economy is the merging of individual enterprises and the changing of names. The firm "Heim, Odessa" became the Bolshevik factory "October Revolution", "Fuchs, Kleiner, Berger and Zagorelin, Katerynoslav"

433 became /165/ "Red Progress, Dnepropetrovsk", and so on. The giant tractor factory in Khar'kov was newly erected, an accomplishment which is proudly shown to every foreign visitors. Important, however, is not only the number of tractors that leave the factory, but also their serviceability and durability. The significance of the industrial plants which have remained from the pre-war period is also evident from the invested capital, according to which, just as before, the iron industry ranks first, coal second and the sugar industry third. In these three industries half of the entire capital invested in Ukrainian industry is combined. Only after that come machine construction and the chemical works which to a certain extent have arisen only in most recent times. (106)

106. Kubiyovich: Commentary to the Atlas, page XXXIII.

257 The sugar industry forms only a part of the food and luxury industry which was a very important branch even before the war. Its center is in the beet-growing region between Podolia, Kiyev and Khar'kov. In 1913 200 Ukrainian sugar factories produced 1.2 million tons of sugar, in 1933 170 factories produced 0.8 million tons. (107)

107. Deminskiy, The Economy of the Ukraine, page 140.

258
274 Besides that there is, also dating back to the pre-war period, a considerable mill and oil industry, the latter in the Kuban region, as well as distilleries.

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369 The increase of urban population is a natural concomitant of industrialization. The Ukraine has

369 always belonged to the countries of the world that have the least number of cities. In 1897 only 3% of the population of the entire Ukraine lived in large cities, and as late as 1926, only 6.7%. In 1931 Greater Ukraine had 12 cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants. In the almost thirty years between 1897 and 1926 the village population increased by 41.5% and the urban population, also as a result of immigration, of course, by
162 85.4%. (108) The natural increase of the Ukrainian population belongs to the largest of Europe, in fact is often the largest. True, mortality is high - about 20 deaths annually per 1000 inhabitants -, but /166/ the birth rate is still essentially higher - about 40 births annually per 1000 inhabitants. The lowest population surplus is shown in densely populated Galicia with 11.5 per thousand, and Carpatho-Ukraine with 16.1 per thousand. In 1927 the natural increase in Soviet Ukraine amounted to 22.5 per thousand and in the Crimea to 26.8 per thousand. (109)

108. Kubiyovich: Distribution of the Population in the Ukraine, page 30.

109. Kubiyovich: Distribution of the Population in the Ukraine, page 26.

369 The new period of growth of the Ukrainian cities, however, is limited to the Central Ukrainian industrial areas and the Donets Basin. The West Ukrainian cities are unsuitable for industrialization on account of the proximity of the border and the lack of larger power sources. Besides, traffic communications are extremely inadequate. These cities even decreased in population, just like the seaports, where today commerce and export
369 support fewer people than before the First World
162 War. During the first Five Year Plan the urban

population in the right-bank section of Soviet Ukraine decreased by 4.2%, whereas in the left-bank section it increased by 44%, in the Donets region alone by 93.5%. (110) Kiyev which was the quiet city of scholars and monasteries before the First World War shows 846,000 inhabitants according to the census of 1939; Khar'kov, the industrial and barracks city with its over-sized ostentatious buildings and skyscrapers shows 833,000; Odessa, where before the First World War 620,000 people lived and in 1923 324,000, houses 604,000 people in 1939. This seaport which was built by Catherine II suffered most in the famine of 1920.

According to the census of January 17, 1939 the entire population of Soviet Ukraine amounted to 30,960,221 souls, of whom about 19,764,000 lived in villages and about 11,195,000 in towns. In the census of 1926 the proportion of the urban population was 16.5%, whereas in 1939 it was said to be about 36%. According to these figures, Soviet Ukraine has, in the space of 13 years, changed from an agricultural country to a decidedly industrial country. Such a revolutionary process taking place within such a brief period, should be considered as out of the question, for similar developments in /167/ the central and western European countries took many decades under more favorable conditions. In order to be convinced of this analogy between Soviet Ukrainian urban development with that of Central Europe, one would have to be more familiar with the basic principles of Muscovite statisticians. For example, one might find an explanation for such an inorganic growth of the urban population in the fact that all settlements of over 2000 inhabitants

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110. Kubiyovich: Distribution of the Population in the Ukraine, page 32.

369 were counted as towns, whereas in former times
162 even the huge peasant villages of 30,000 and
40,000 inhabitants were placed in the category
of villages.

The result of the new census becomes particularly
interesting if one brings in for comparison
the Statistique de la population de l'Oukraine
contemporaine published in 1929 by the statistical
office of the Soviet Ukraine in Khar'kov in both
Ukrainian and French. In this publication the
population figure on January 1, 1929 is given as
30,363,547. According to that, the population of
Soviet Ukraine increased from January 1, 1929 to
January 17, 1939 by only 596,674 souls. From the
beginning of the Five Year Plan period, however,
the normal annual increase amounted to 600,000
souls, according to the birth surplus of 20 per
thousand; this would be 6 millions in 10 years.
Thus the population decreased by about 5.4 million
souls from 1929 to 1939. In an evaluation of
these results we must keep in mind the fact that
since 1936 abortions have been punishable by 10
years imprisonment, and that a large immigration
of Russian and Far Eastern elements has taken
place, which was particularly promoted by Moscow.

162 No less serious than these factors is the
167 decrease of village population since 1926 by 4.41
million souls. Even if the largest part of these
4.41 million village inhabitants should be counted
city dwellers, the decrease thus being only apparent,
what has happened to the increase of the
peasant population? The census of 1939 reveals
the silent tragedy of the "dead frontier", the
strip of land about 50 kilometers wide /168/ at
the former Rumanian and Polish boundary, which
had to be cleared of Ukrainian inhabitants. It
betrays the famine from 1931 to 1933, the exiles
167 to the frosty North and the dislodgments. On
this point the Komsomolets Ukrayiny of May 21
and 22, 1939 wrote that the Ukrainians were being

161 sent as farmers to the Far East and to Kazakstan, and as laborers to the construction of the railway lines Donets Basin-Moscow and Akmolinsk-Kartaly. The railway Akmolinsk-Kartaly crossed the desert of Kazakstan in an 806 kilometer stretch. The Visti of June 3, 1939 complete this picture when they write: "The Soviet Ukraine annually furnishes the newly-arisen industrial centers in the other Soviet Republics with hundreds of thousands of laborers. At Magnitogorsk, Kutsbas, in the Far East and on the Turkish Railway there are thousands of construction workers who come from all different parts of the Ukraine."

369 This policy of splitting up the Ukrainian people must in the long run have all the more fateful consequences since the cities in the Ukraine are primarily in foreign hands. "The Ukrainian people remained peasants and villagers; they left their cities in the hands of foreigners, Russians, Jews, Germans, Poles." This was the complaint even before the First World War of the Ukrainian geographer Rudnitskyj: (111) The Ukrainian peasant son did not want to go to the city where people spoke in foreign tongues. Village tranquility and quiet romanticism he recaptured only in the country. And thus the Ukrainian peasant youth wandered by the hundreds of thousands to the Kuban, the Volga, to Siberia and yonder to the shores of the Pacific Ocean in order to colonize new land there, while foreigners took possession of the Ukrainian cities. The result was 162 369 that from 1926 to 1931 in the cities of all Ukrainian provinces there were 38.8 Ukrainians per 100 inhabitants, 28.1 Russians, 21.6 Jews, 6.9 Poles, 0.8 Germans and 3.8 of other nationalities. (112)

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111. Rudnitskyj: ibid., page 162.

112. Kubiyovich: Georgraphy of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 307 and 308.

11: Obermaier--181 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1

In 1926 there were 42.1% Ukrainians in Kiyev, 369
38.3% in Khar'kov, 17.4% in Odessa, /Facing page 162
168/ /Map XII: Balance of Trade in the Soviet 439
Ukraine. The diagrams on this page permit a comparison of import and export during the periods before and after the First World War. Note the decrease of exports in agricultural products and the increase of industrial exports/ /Captions:/

Diagram of
Foreign Trade of the Soviet Union in
1909/11, 1913 and 1934
(in million rubles)

1.
Export, of this trade with Russia
/In circle marked 795:/
Grain 222
Metal and metal goods 90
Products of animal husbandry 56
Other produces 28
Other agricultural products 399

3. Export
/In circle marked 744:/
Grain 235
Metals & crude metals 116
Products of animal husbandry 53
Coal 50
Other products 25
Sugar 265
4. Import
/In circle marked 331:/
Wood products 37
Naphtha products 13
Metal goods
Other products 74
Other finished goods 197

2.
Import
/In circle marked 472:/
Metals and machines 34.5
Naphtha products 33.5
Groceries 33
Leather & leather goods31
Fish 29
Wood products 17
Other products 17
Other finished products 217

5.Export
/In circle marked 720:/
Sugar 160
Coal 140
Grain 50
Ores 10
Metals and machines 360

439 6. Import
/In circle marked 380:/
Naphtha 110
Wood products 70
Fish 20
Products of animal husbandry 5
Other finished products 180

7. Export of various goods from the Soviet Ukraine in 1913, 1928, 1932 and 1934 (in million tons).

8. Coal
9. Ores

10. Iron & steel

11. Grain

12. Sugar

13. Wood

14. Naphtha & naphtha products

15. Various finished products

000 /Also facing page 168/ /Where tractors are worn out harrowing is now done with horses/ /Facing page 169/A/At planting time the seed must be got into the ground within a few days. The tractor is particularly adapted to the cultivation of large
369 areas/A/169/ 35.9% in Dnepropetrovsk, 16.2% in
162 Lwow (1931), 28.9% in Stalin, 29.9% in Krasnodar (chief city of the Kuban region), and 17.8% in Chernovtsy.

*

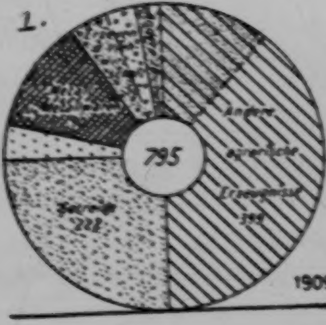
563 The Jews immediately seized what the Ukrainians had passed by. During the wars with the Turks Catherine II had opened to them the south Ukrainian gubemiyas of Taurien, Kherson and Katerinoslav, the present-day Dnepropetrovsk. In 1835 the right of settlement of the Jews was extended to the entire right-bank section of the Ukraine with the exception of the city of Kiyev. The rest of Russia was almost completely free of Jews until 1917. From that time on all of Russia was open to them, and immediately the emigration

[1] [For plates, cf. pp. 224-225, category IIC-Analyst]

11: Obermaier--182A J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

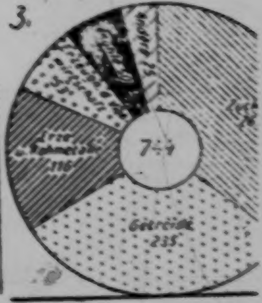
439

1.



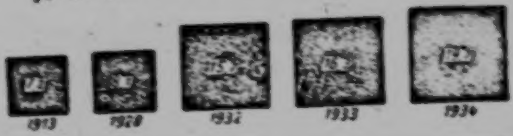
2.

3.



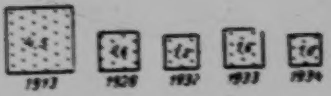
7. Export of various Soviet Ukraine in 1934 (in million tons)

8. coal

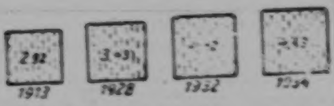


9. ores

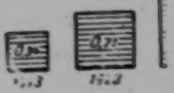
11. Grain



13. wood



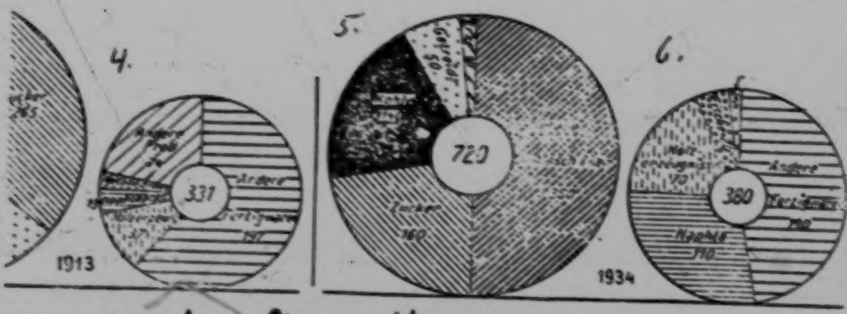
14 Naphtha



[Map XII: Balance of trade in the Soviet Ukraine, cf. complete Legend, pp. 181–182]

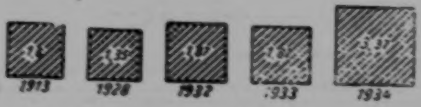
11: Obermaier--182B J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

439

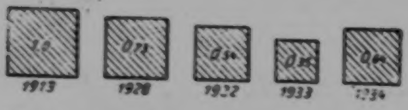


goods from the
1913, 1928, 1932 and

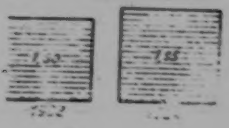
10. Iron + steel



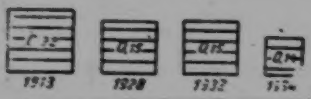
12. SUGAR



and Naphtha products



15. various finished products



[map XII: Balance of trade in the Soviet Ukraine]

563 of Jews who had been crowded together in the Ukraine began into the interior of Russia. The process of urbanization of the Jewish population was in full swing even before the First World War. [162] Already by the year 1897 77.4% of the 1.2 million Jews in Russian Ukraine lived in cities, where they made up 22.7% of the population. (113)

113. Seraphim: The Jewry in East European Area, page 322.

Meanwhile the urbanization continued. The proportion of Jews in the total urban population of the district of Kiyev came to 28% in 1926, in the Odessa district it was 31%, in Dniepropetrovsk 32%, in Podolia 54.7%, in the highly industrial Donets region only 9.1%. (114)

114. Seraphim: The Jewry in East European Area, page 333.

000 Even though the Jews controlled almost the entire wholesale and retail trade in the Ukraine before the First World War, and were extremely influential in banking, this was not true of the apparatus of government. Gone today are the traders who realized fat profits on the 4000 Ukrainian fairs, who bought from wholesale dealers and wandered through the country as barterers; private trade has been shattered and the banks are state-controlled, but the influence of the Jews is greater than ever. As early as 1926 they had established themselves in government positions far beyond those that were open to them, and ruled over the Ukrainian and Russian people. In the municipal Soviets they had 20.1% of all positions, in the trade unions 38.1%; in /170/ the judiciary they had 18.9%, in finance administration 19.4%, in the cooperatives 26.8%, in the credit system 35.1% and in public affairs even 44.2% of all

500 available positions. And yet the proportion of Jews in the total population amounted to -7.1%. (115) On the board of the Commissariat of Internal Trade in Moscow there were at times 49 Jews among 124 members, and in the foreign trade commissariat there were no less than 55 out of 106. In the finance commissariat "Judaization was complete". With the constant change of leadership in the commissariats, the number of Jews active in the commissariats for communications, for inland and ocean shipping, for heavy industry, agriculture, the food industry and in many other commissariats the Jews occupy the key positions. (116) From there they direct the "mass invasion" of the members of their race into the middle and top-rank positions of the administrative and economic system of the Union.

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476 Today there are only meager remnants left of the East Ukrainian system of cooperatives which was still performing tolerable services during the time of the collectives, - in 1930 there were 40,081 cooperatives with 5.5 million members. (117) The distribution of goods is handled up to about 80% by state stores;the cooperatives are on the same footing with them. Where the state regulates

115. Seraphim: The Jewry in East European Area, page 263.

116. Seraphim: The Jewry in the East European Area, page 642 ff.

117. Zalotzietskiy: The Spiritual Life of the Ukraine, page 143.

11: Obermaier--185 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1

475 where the state regulates everything, there is no longer any room for self-maintenance. State commerce is supervised by the various commissariats, which fact does not facilitate its smooth running. The commissariats for internal commerce, for the food industry, for local industry, the "Division for the Welfare of Workers" and other offices also have a voice. In 1935 there were 310,300 workers employed "in 000 the service of Ukrainian commerce". Of this crew the Jews represented 42.8% and the Ukrainians 38.1%. (118)

118: Soviet Trade, Kiyev 1937.

/171/ The Soviet press sometimes tells tales out of school about how Soviet business has developed under the leadership of the Jews who reputedly 433 have a talent for business. Pravda of November 16, 1936, writes of a "fantastic flood of rules and regulations". During the first nine months of 1936, they said, the people's commissar Weizer issued 42,000 orders, decrees and resolutions. Izvestiia of March 14, 1937 writes: "In Rostov on the Don the demand for light articles of clothing is great, but the shops are empty. Summer clothing, suits, underwear, sport clothes, bathing suits, there is nothing of this kind in the fifty-nine shops of the city. There is unbelievable disorder in supplies." On the subject [885] of profiteering Pravda reports on May 25, 1937: "In 1936 deficits, embezzlements and divestments amounted to an enormous sum: in government business 217 million rubles, in the consumer cooperatives 203 million rubles. But these represent only the deficits and embezzlements that were discovered!" Za Industriializatsii of July 17, 1937, gives an interesting glimpse into how the Donets region is supplied with food. "In the regulation of April 29 of this year," writes the periodical, "the council of the people's commis-

433 sariats of the Soviet Union decided that very shortly a reform in the methods of supplying food and articles of everyday use to miners of the Donets Basin is to take place. Since the time this decree was issued more than two months have elapsed, but nothing has changed. - We have visited the pits of all the different districts of the Donets Basin and have spoken to the men and women workers. We were obliged to conclude that in none of the districts has there been any improvement worth speaking of in the matter of food supply, that, on the contrary, conditions have grown worse to a large extent. We mention as an example the coal mines in the district of Rovenechky. Here there is a working population of 30,000 people; and every day one can see how /172/ long lines form outside the food stores already early in the morning. After these people have patiently waited, usually for several hours, they are told that no food supply whatsoever has arrived, so that they return home without having received anything. We asked a number of leading union officials how the food supply trade is organized. Trade union official Kondratov gave us the following explanation: In our store there is neither sugar nor salt nor groats. Meat is very seldom sold, and is usually of poor quality. Since February of this year we have had salt herring only one single time, other fish we have not even seen." (119)

119. Keyserlingk: The Russian Worker Lives in This Way, page 44ff.

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491 Like trade, the system of communication is poor in the Ukraine. In 1880, there were in the Northern Ukraine, 210,000 chumak, that is carters and dealers who took care of long-distance trans-

491/portation by land with ox teams. In the three South Ukrainian governments in 1897, 100,000 such ox carts lumbered along on the ancient, worn-out chumak roads which were many hundreds of meters wide. Neither the Polish nor the Russian administration bothered about road building. Even today there are large cities in the Ukraine which are connected with one another only by means of enormously wide country roads. While Galicia during Austrian rule had about 10,000 kilometers of paved roads, and the Czechs built 2400 kilometers of roads in the Carpatho-Ukraine, the Soviet Ukraine succeeded in raising the figure to a full 8900 kilometers of highway in 1935, and the Kuban region to 600 kilometers. In 1935, there were 25,200 kilometers of improved natural roads which approximately correspond to our field roads, and 168,000 kilometers of "natural earth roads" which are impossible during the rainy season and in thaws. (120)

496/173/ There are only 24,400 kilometers of railways running through the entire Ukrainian area from the Carpatho-Ukraine to the Kuban, from the Black Sea up to the Pirpyat Swamps (in Germany there were 68,548 kilometers of railroads in 1935). The only actual railway junction in this large country is Lwów, from which nine lines emanate. Kiyev and all the other cities are merely intersections of two lines. In the twenty years of their rule the Bolsheviks have built only 1000 kilometers of railroads. (121) They, too, did not alleviate the main deficiency of the Ukrainian railway network the lines of which run north and south, toward Moscow and the Baltic: the important

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120. Kubiyovich: Geography, page 479 ff.

121. Kubiyovich: Geography, page 484.

496 lateral connections are still wanting. Anyone wishing to go from west to east in the Ukraine is obliged to reckon with a circuitous route and a long period of travel. For instance, you travel 32 hours from the capital of Kiyev to Taganrog on the Sea of Azov which is 700 kilometers distant, even though you go forever over flat steppes; from Kiyev to Kherson 450 kilometers to the south you, travel 16 hours. (122) Moreover, the Ukrainian railway network is so wide-meshed that there are large districts which are 40 to 60 kilometers away from the railroad line, as on the lower Dnieper north of the Bug estuary and in the Kuban region. The most traveled stretch is the Moscow-Khar'kov-Donets Basin-Kuban line with more than 10 passenger trains a day. Between Kiyev and Odessa there are five to six passenger trains a day, as well as between Kiyev and Moscow. There is not a single serviceable cross connection except the line between the industrial regions of Krivoy Rog and Donets, which was built in 1884. Between two such important cities as Kiyev and Khar'kov there are only one or two passenger trains a day. Odessa can be reached from the Donets region only by a very roundabout way. Through the lonely reaches of the Western Soviet Ukraine only one or at best two passenger trains run daily. (123)

122. Kubiyovich: Atlas, page 50.

123. Kubiyovich: Atlas, page 49.

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505/174/ The most important trade and communications route of the Ukraine until the pre-war period was the Dnieper. It and its tributaries take up 4300 kilometers of the total of 6000 kilometers of navigable rivers in the Ukraine. Shipping is not very important on the rest of the rivers, such

505 as the Dnester, Bug and Donets, because it is not regulated. The Donets has too little water to assume the importance it could have as the only river in the industrial area.

504 Odessa is the most important seaport of the Ukraine, and next in importance comes Novorossiysk on the Caucasian coast. Both of them turn over more than two million tons of goods annually. Next come Mykolayov at the mouth of the Bug and Maryupil on the Sea of Azov, with a turn-over of more than a million tons annually, as well as Kherson at the mouth of the Dneper and Theodosia in the Crimea with more than half a million tons each.(124)

124. Kubiyovich: Atlas, page 48.

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000 When workers are satisfied with their jobs and the general living conditions of their dwellings, they do not like to change. Constant change of a crew of workers of an enterprise is a definite sign that something is wrong, that the workers are not satisfied. For the employers it is no pleasure constantly to be obliged to train new
464 people and test their reliability. In the Ukraine workmen very often leave factories and pits in order to find employment in other enterprises. The official organ of heavy industry 'Za Industriyalizatsiiu' writes about this on December 15, 1936: "The fluctuation of workmen in the Donets Basin is enormous. It even exceeds that of former years. In eleven months of 1936, 231,000 new workmen moved to the coal pits, while 233,000 moved away; again in 1935, 210,000 came, 219,000 left. The crew changes all the time... People also leave the mines because of low wages. /175/ In pit number 18 many of the workers hired, earned only 100 tO 200 rubels a month. Disorganization

464 cuts wages." A few days later 'Za Industriyalizatsiiu' deals with the same subject: "The fluctuation of workers in the Molotov automobile factory is great, especially among those who have been newly employed. In the course of eleven months in 1936 over 12,000 workers have moved away. The shortage of housing is often given as the chief reason for the mass flight. Inasmuch as the machines are idle, the wages of the workers are greatly reduced... The workers wait for the machines eight to ten days a month. The management succeeds in providing normal or semi-normal working conditions for only a few of the workers - for the famous Stakhanov-workers." (125) Very similar are the conditions in the new combine "Zaporishstali" where in 1935, 9151 workers were taken on and 7675 released; this is reported by Visti on May 22, 1939. The same paper reports on May 17, 1939 that 331 young farmers from the region of Chernigov were sent into the coal mines of the Donets Basin.

433
461 At the beginning of the second Five Year Plan, Bolshevik employers with the help of the erstwhile farmer Isotov refuted those false prophets who, like Marx and Lenin, maintained that people would lead a secure, carefree and enjoyable life in the socialist state with little work and high wages. After special preparations the miner Isotov turned out 40 to 60 percent more than he had previously averaged. Isotov's first effort was particularly celebrated and propagandized. It served as a pretext for the introduction of the Udarnik or shock-worker movement. Two years later, when this impulse had abated just as had the previous enthusiasm of the first Five Year Plan, the big, powerful peasant boy Alexei Stakhanov fell

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125. Quoted by Keyserlingk, The Russian worker lives in this way, page 22.

433 into the same trap. Instead of extracting 7 to 461 8 tons from a pit, Stakhanov now came up with 105 tons of coal. /176/ The familiar Isotov propagandistic fireworks were repeated, and as before many workers suddenly discovered how much more they could have been producing. They suddenly worked so fast that their hands grew hot. Instead of 590 crank shafts a forger could now mold 1027 in one shift, instead of 15 to 20 spindles women workers now managed 140, and instead of 320 pairs of shoes a shoemaker now made 3000 pairs. What good did it do that many refused to play the game any longer? Their achievements were measured according to the records set by the Stakhanov workers, and their wages decreased. In February 1936, the record-establishing frenzy reached its climax in the so-called Stakhanov Month when the world was to be shown what the Soviet Union was capable of achieving. Pravda gave an account of the results of this month of superior achievements on March 19th, 1936: "During the Stakhanov Month industry stood under the sign of bungling. Often the quality of the products decreased, defective products increased, and in many factories the state plan was not carried out..." The hatred of the workers toward the Stakhanov workers who were contemptuously regarded as ambitious yes men, went so far that they were sometimes even put out of the way. Nevertheless, the authorities continued to organize Stakhanov days, weeks and decades throughout the year, until the fever finally abated. Apparently the efforts had not resulted in favorable experiences. Mashinostroenie of December 23rd, 1937 gives a small picture of the expenses incurred during this time by a Soviet factory proprietor: "In the course of a week of the Stakhanov decade, 18,765 pistons had to be discarded as defective in the piston workshop alone of the factory 'Red Trade Union International'. The management of the factory has resigned

433 itself to such an extent to the mass production of
461 discards that it regards this condition as an unavoidable fact and builds up its production program on the score of 35 percent discards." (126)

126. Keyserlingk: The Russian Worker Lives in this way, page 32.

000 /Facing page 176/ /An important agricultural product: sunflowers. The seeds are removed from the receptacle with small sticks, and are then taken to the oil mills/†/Facing page 177/ /Picture of a village in the more well-timbered West Ukraine where the houses are built of wood/†/177/

465 In the spring of 1937, two years after the introduction of the Stakhanov System, the average gross wages of the Soviet worker, according to the official figures of the Moscow Statistical Office, amounted to 212 rubles monthly. (127) In the meantime there has hardly been any change in these figures. From these 212 rubles about 10 percent are deducted (128) so that the worker has 191 rubles left over per month to cover his living expenses. If he had no rent to pay, with this amount he could buy 106 kilograms of white bread or 44 kilograms of groats or 119 liters of milk or 29.5 kilograms of sweet cherries; or he could consume 24 canteen meals a month or buy 19 kilograms of margarine. He could also acquire three pairs of sneakers or a pair of cheap men's shoes, provided they are even available in a normal size, - usually there are only outsizes in stock in the state stores and cooperatives, for the Jews have shifted the marketable goods to the open market where their cost is multiple. There would not be enough for a man's suit of the cheapest

127. Keyserlingk: The Russian Worker Lives in this way, page 33.

† [For plates, cf. pp. 226-227, category 116 - Analyst]

465 quality. For this the worker, if he does not spend any kopeks for food and housing, must work one and one-half months, and two months for the cheapest winter coat. Three colored shirts eat up a month's wages. For the same amount he could buy his wife three summer dresses of poor quality or three sets of underwear or three blouses. (129)

129. Statement of a German specialist in Kiyev.

"Far too often the life of the Soviet Ukraine worker is exhausted in the struggle for his daily bread, for clothing and shelter, and yet before the war he was the best paid in Russia. Undoubtedly
345 the Bolsheviks have done a great deal of building,
466 but they neglected the building of houses in favor
185 of the building of clubhouses and palaces for cultural purposes, veritable giant structures of cement and steel where in the evening the locksmiths and metal founders then assemble "in order to hear lectures on Shakespeare". "For in human history there is an urge that has never before been recognized in the great masses...for art and literature. The famous tractor brigade of the Pasha Angelin comes forth with songs, and the workers of the Khar'kov tractor factory organize their own opera. Hundreds of groups of worker and kolhosp newspapers flaunt poems, stories and essays written by forge and tractor workers."

He whose thoughts take flight on the wings of Pegasus will find his hands only mechanically at
433 work. Among the construction workers the "never-before recognized urge of the great masses...for art and literature" expresses itself in the following way, according to Pravda of July 16, 1937: "The brick production program for the year could only be 19 percent accomplished in the first five months of the year, and the two subsequent months have also brought no change. The construct-

433tion of factories and dwellings is therefore held up and interrupted. Building costs rise a great deal... The shortage of bricks is increased by the fact that the bricks that are delivered are to a large extent useless. The imperfection comes to 25 to 30 percent by the time the bricks are laid. But even these bricks that are laid do not as a rule measure up to the prescribed 361 durability test." (130) In the finished settlements life is described thus in Visti, January 10th, 1939: "The settlement of Rudchenkovo in the Donbas has changed its aspect completely under the Soviet government. Large sections of many-storied houses have arisen and streets with lights and 10,000 square meters of asphalt sidewalks. Street car tracks were laid which connect the settlement with the center of the city of Stalin. There is also a bus connection here; the water system was improved, and the building ofthe cultural center for miners of the Donbas was erected aswell as a polyclinic, schools, clubs and shops. Nevertheless: 1. For three years now there have been talks in the district councils of the region and even in the regional executive committee about the opening of a sales center for heating material; 2. in /179/ Rudchenkovo a bath house does not yet exist; 3. the street car stop is out on the open steppe one-half mile from the clinic, and there is not even a small shelter at the car stopl 4. there is no public pharmacy; 5. lighting in the houses is unsatisfactory - the electrical plants have almost generally become useless; 6. there is no dairy; 7. there is no shop for children's goods; 8. the book business is very poorly organized. - The leaders of the trust 'Stalin Coal' and of the district council

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130. Quoted by Keyserlingk: The Russian Worker Lives in This Way, page 26.

361 of Kirovsk must finally take note of the needs of the workers and do away with the inadequacies which constitute the dark side of the tremendous economic development of the population of Rudchenkovo."

Soviet bureaucracy is working with unbelievable assiduousness on city planning. The building plan of Rostov, for example, according to Izvestiia of August 5th, 1937, had been under construction for eight years at that time, and the reconstruction plan of Nizhne-Tagilak, a small city in the Urals, is a book of 10,000 pages. The men who drew up the reconstruction plan of Gor'kiy must have been Stakhanov bureaucrats, for its pages are no longer numbered but - weighed; and it weighs two tons.

433 It sounds somewhat exaggerated when the Moscow Review of June 3, 1937, maintains that the Five Year Plans determine the course of future Soviet economy "with the accuracy of a time table". Not the only reason why these time tables cannot be adhered to is after all the fluctuation of the workers, which, in turn, is caused by the shortage of food and housing. Along with many other journals, 'Za Industriializatsiiu' of August 23rd, 1937, confirms the fact that the workers suffer considerable wage deficits because of the disorganization of Soviet economy: "The large companies of heavy industry are suffering from a great scarcity of oxygen. Thus, for example, the Martin furnaces of the plant 'Red October' in Stalingrad had to be allowed to go out because of lack of oxygen. /180/ A similar situation occurred in quite a number of other Soviet cities such as Khar'kov, Dnepropetrovsk and Rostov. In front of the oxygen factory of Khar'kov there are a great many trucks waiting every day, in order to get at least a few bottles of oxygen. This factory is extremely inefficient, which can in part be traced back to the frequent interruptions caused by accidents. Thus the Khar'kov plant was idle 28 percent

433 of the working time in July of this year...The Stalingrad plant presents a similar picture." (131) Where there is no needle there are no clothes. Pravda of May 8, 1939, criticizes the decrease in coal mining in the Donbas as follows: "The mine which determines the fate of the entire trust is behind schedule. It would seem as though the scandalous production which has lasted for a considerable time now would have been given serious consideration. The management of the mine is now trying to explain the poor production by the fact that the workers are leaving in order to attend to their spring planting." Visti of June 10, 1939, supplements this by reporting that the constant decrease of coal mining in the Donets Basin is forcing the economic management of Soviet Ukraine to increase the production of brown coal and turf.

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562 By reason of the Soviet Constitution, the
461 East Ukrainian woman has an equal position with
594 the man. This means that she has the same meager rights and the same heavy duties. Since the wages
[465] of the man are not adequate to support the family, the woman must also earn some of the daily bread. Thus the woman is a worker. The elimination of Sundays and holidays, the long trips to work, the standing-in-line for hours to get food, the shifting of days off in the different plants, the incredible housing shortage, the rearing of children in institutions, the easy divorces of "couples living together" - all this disrupts the family.
594 The devastating consequences which are bound to
161 result from the disregard /181/ of the family,

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131. Keyserlingk: The Russian Worker Lives in this way, page 25.

594 161 this seed of all political life, may be surmised from the census of January 1939. On the basis of the estimated increase during the period of the New Economic Policy, the Soviet Union should have had 183 million inhabitants. Instead there were 170 million all told. There are 13 million souls missing - twice the number of the Czech nation!

462 The book entitled 'Woman in Socialistic Ukraine which appeared in Kiyev in 1937, tells of the triumphs of the Ukrainian woman, not in love and not in the family, but in the field of industry. According to this book, the Ukrainian woman has already "conquered" her position in all branches of industry, coal mines not excepted. In 1936, women comprised the following percentages of the total number of workers: in the building industry 18.3 percent, in the mining industry 26.3 percent, in the chemical industry 26.3 percent in the iron-industry 20.9 percent, and in the construction of machines 21.1 percent. There were 14,274 women engineers and technicians in 1936, and nearly half of the total number of physicians were women (9398). Moreover, the woman of Soviet Ukraine - always according to this book - takes an active part in the defense of the state as pilot, teacher, auto technician, as members of the parachute troops and so forth.

[29] On the subject ot the wardrobe of these industrious workers it is divulged that 37 percent of all Ukrainian women own two or more coats, 24.4 percent own two or more cloth or silk dresses, 40.5 percent have five changes of underwear and 38.7 percent have two or more pairs of leather shoes. It is taken for granted that all the other women have only one coat, one cloth or silk dress, one pair of shoes and no more than four changes of underwear.

And their feminine ambition? "Hanna Bondarenko, railroad engineer on the line 'Voroshilov', 462 ran her train 900 kilometers without changing engines. The train personnel consisted entirely of women." This according to Izvestiia of November 21, 1938. Pravda /182/ of May 4th, 1939 has a report of the modern types of feminine desires of the Ukrainian women in the Donets Basin: In the Voroshilovgrad region the number of housewives who express a desire to work in the mines increases every day. Recently 190 housewives were taken on in the mines of the Krasnoluky district. In Shaft Number 151 the women mine workers challenged their husbands to a competition. Comrade Khodonovich entered into competition with her husband who works as a locksmith in the same pit. Twelve of the housewives employed, systematically produced 130 to 150 percent of the norm." Under the pseudonym "sundries" behind which a Jew may be hiding, an enthusiastic admirer of this womanly existence writes: "Women, their work-blouses stretched tight over their breasts, their checked cap with a visor pulled over their short hair, with hard eyes that know no maidenly dreams, drive the motor trucks madly from one hall to another through long avenues that seem to meet in perspective. Women with hands that do not know how to hold children grasp red-hot rods with iron tongs and let them send forth sparks under pneumatic hammers. Is it a man or woman, this human form in leather here at the clattering mold, there in the hellish concert of the grindery?"(132)

132. Sundries: Russia Close Up, page 140.

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185 At the beginning of the third Five Year Plan, the Moscow Review of June 10th, 1937 wrote among other things: "The rapid development of mass well-being and culture will in general be one of the distinguishing features of the third Five Year Plan. At this point every possibility of comparison with America ceases. For that sort of thing

185 exists only in socialism." At the Party Congress in 1939, Stalin corrected these and similar expressions of conceit. He turned against the "fancifulness" of the advance estimates of the last Five Year Plan. The hopes of the proletarian masses of the Union for the promised paradise, nourished for more than twenty years, /183/ were abruptly destroyed by the "father of the people" with his allusion to the sacrifices which are still necessary in order to catch up with the most progressive states. There was still time for that, Stalin said, "and not a little time".

/184/ Emigrants

668 Although the Ukrainian people do not have a state (the Soviet Ukraine is merely a province of Moscow), they have three governments which have their seat in some foreign European country. There is the government of hetman Skoropadskiy which resigned in 1918 and was later revived in exile; then the directorate of the Ukrainian People's Republic which originally consisted of five presidents. Its chairman Petliura is dead and its members have scattered. Finally there is a West Ukrainian government. The political emigration [162] from the Soviet Union, Bessarabia, Bukovina and Poland resides almost altogether in Europe. Here it numbers 150,000 souls including the emigrants. Of these about 50,000 East Ukrainians ~~alone~~ are living in what was formerly Poland, 50,000 Ukrainians are living in France, 15,000 without protectorate and 5000 under aprotectorate in Germany, 8000 in Belgium and 5000 each in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The rest are divided up among twelve countries.

The world knows little about the former goverments, nor do they stand out. All of them cling tenaciously to the fiction of their legality. The most active among them is the Petliura government, although it is the very one which suffered the most annihilating military and diplomatic defeat. Around it cluster the remaining supporters of the East Ukrainian dictator who, in spite of Polish betrayal and the most outrageous treatment, convulsively clung to the talons of the White Eagle. Petliura was murdered in Paris in 1926 just as he was preparing, after Pilsudski's coup d'état, to concoct a new scheme with the Polish dictator. In Ukrainian emigré circles not related to the Petliura group /185/ which consists almost primarily of older people, these gentlemen are regarded as Polish agents. In contrast to the rest of the political emigrants, the Petliura followers lived, as a rule, in tolerable circumstances.

It is worth while to examine the program of the Petliura group more closely, for the latter, together with the Poles, followed the political plans of Pilsudski and Petliura. The goal was to smash the Russian colossus and establish an East Ukrainian state under a Polish protectorate. The means to this end was to be a common front of East Ukrainians with the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, preferably with the peoples of the Caucasus, the Don Cossacks, who regard themselves as a separate people, and the Karelian Finns. The White Ruthenians were to be excluded from this alliance; they, as well as the seven to eight million West Ukrainians, were to be left to the Poles. This Polish-Petliura school of thought regarded the neighboring states "that know what the Soviet Ukraine means", that is to say Finland, the Baltic states and primarily the former Poland, as additional allies against pan-Russian Moscow. In case the Soviet Union was to become involved in a war, there was provision made in Warsaw for the raising of an "army of the Ukrainian people's government" which, as far back as 1919 to 1920, was probably to have the honor of conquering Kiyev, the pearl for the Poles. The difficult lot of the West Ukrainians under Polish rule left this group completely indifferent, for "they, of course, have their own parliamentary representation in the Polish sejm", as one of the leading men of the group told the author in February 1939 in Warsaw.

The followers of Petliura were anxious to be regarded as liberal democrats. Their adherents resided primarily in Warsaw and in Paris. Here the group published a fortnightly periodical and a monthly information bulletin with Polish intelligence, in which one could occasionally read that "the cabinet held a regular session". /186/

There were only individual West Ukrainians who belonged to the Petliura group. On the other hand, many East Ukrainians belong to the two other political trends of the Ukrainian emigration. These are, first, the conservative followers of the ex-hetman Skoropadskiy, who have in mind some kind of Ukrainian confederacy with a non-Bolshevik Moscow and aim at a monarchy, and secondly, the adherents of the "Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists" (OUN). The hetman followers publish a paper in Chicago; some of them also live in the Reich. The "Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists" counts among its followers the most active national revolutionary elements of the emigration. The OUN is the only important group with an ideological basis. This young Ukrainian generation formulates modern Ukrainian nationalism on a popularist basis. It is trying to "create a vigorous Ukrainianism, uncompromising in the realization of its national idea". Its goal is an independent state embracing all Ukrainian territories. (133) The leader of this group, until his slaying in Amsterdam in 1938, was the head of the

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133. The Ukraine and the National Policy of Moscow, page 58.

668 sech sharp shooters, Ievhen Konovalets who, after Petliura reached an understanding with the Poles, separated from the dictator. Konovalet's successor is the former chief of staff of the Ukrainian army, chief of the sech sharp shooters Andrey Melnyk who was obliged to flee from Poland in 1938. The OUN has its strongest support in the Ukrainian emigrants in the USA - "Organization for the Political Revival of the Ukraine, New York" -, in Canada and South America. But also among the 150,000 European political refuges and emigrants it has the most adherents of all groups large and small. There are Ukrainian nationalists in almost all Central and West European capitals, among others in Rome, in Paris and in London where the "English-Ukrainian Society" establishes contact with the Ukrainian emigrants in Canada.

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167 /187/ When in the second half of the past century economic conditions became more and more unbearable in the Ukraine, many Ukrainians emigrated; from the Russian Ukraine to East Russia, from Galicia, from Carpatho-Ukraine, and from Bukovina overseas. In 1926, 771,000 Ukrainians lived outside the Ukraine proper in small and large linguistic islands, within European Russia, and 2,138,000 lived in Asia. In the United States there were about 700,000 Ukrainians, primarily workers; in Canada there were 300,000 mostly farmers; in Brazil 50,000 to 60,000, in Argentina 50,000, in the rest of the South American countries 10,000 to 20,000. (134)

134. Kubiyovich: Geography, page 321.

517 Organizations of compatriots of various kinds keep the Ukrainians together overseas. The closest ties are those between the farmers in

[Vienna] [Prague] [Warsaw] [Paris]

517 Canada. But the numerous Ukrainians in northern America have only insignificant cultural facilities. All the more highly developed is Ukrainian intellectual life among the emigrants in Central Europe. When the Poles, the Rumanians and the Bolsheviks arrived, the Ukrainian professors fled from Lwów, Czernovitz and from the universities of Russia, chiefly to Vienna. This Danubin city had an important Ukrainian tradition at that time. Its position in relation to Galicia was favorable. Many ties bount it to this country which under Austrian rule had experienced an unusual growth.

Thus it was in Vienna that the Ukrainian intellectual world gathered in 1920 to 1921; the scholars had an urge for activity. And so the "Free Ukrainian University" opened its doors on January 17, 1921, solemnly and in the presence of the officials of German Austria. It had two departments, philosophy and law.

Meanwhile the former Sorbonne student Eduard Benevs, at the time secretary of foreign affairs of "Czechoslovakia", knew well what was meant by cultural propaganda. He soon managed to cut off the "Free Ukrainian University" in Vienna. First of all he lured the /188/ poor homeless Ukrainian students to Prague with scholarships and later also attracted their professors. In Prague an active Ukrainian academic life unfolded in the years that followed.

In 1939, the Ukrainian men of learning who lived in foreign countries were active at ten scientific institutes. Six of these are in Prague: the Ukrainian Academic Association, the Ukrainian Historical-Philological Society, the Ukrainian Juridical Society, the Ukrainian Sociological Institute, the Ukrainian Historical Cabinet and the "Museum of the Wars of Independence of the Ukraine". There are two in Warsaw: the Ukrainian Scientific Institute and the Mazepa-Mogyla Academy of Sciences. One is in Paris, the

[Berlin]

517 Petliura Library. Finally, there is the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin.

/189/ Epilogue

181 After their liberation from the Soviet-Muscovite yoke the Ukrainian people have, for the first time in their recent history, had an opportunity to develop their talents and their natural resources freely and unimpeded for their own benefit. The tremendous amount of work that remains to be done can be estimated only by someone who is familiar with the incomparable misery which war-communism, more than two decades of Bolshevik rule and finally liberation from this rule have brought upon the Ukrainian country and its people. Reconstruction will necessarily be all the more difficult since the Ukrainians have to this day remained a peasant people, without their own artisans, without a merchant class, without officials and almost without a so-called intelligentsia. This fact has been very important for the biological survival of the Ukrainian people, for its seed thus withstood the most dire distress of centuries of suppression. Nevertheless: peasants are not statesmen! Peasants want to plow, sow, reap and tend their cattle. Thus it is not a matter of chance that, aside from its historical struggle against the Asiatic hordes, the most important achievement of the Ukrainian people is of a rural character: in the colonization of the steppes, of Siberian and far-eastern lands the Ukrainians have achieved great things. "In fact," says the well-known Ukrainian geographer Rudnickiy, "the entire life force of the nation was directed toward the one single problem of occupying new areas and cultivating them according to old customs." Nevertheless - "the political idea suffered thereby, as well as Ukrainian culture and the Ukrainian city." /190/

181 The innermost feelings of the Ukrainians in the days of their liberation is described by a German war correspondent a few weeks after the Bolsheviks were driven out of Kiyev, in the following words of a Ukrainian physician in Kiyev: "You Germans must be very patient with us! You must help us as though we were schoolchildren to whom one must teach the most elementary aspects of life step by step! You must give us strength once more to believe in humanity! For we are not ourselves. We are pitiful, down-trodden, homeless creatures, human beings deprived of all that was sacred, who night and day have lived in the fear of being deported, exiled or shot because of our very existence." (135)

135. "Kiew - der Blutegel der Ukraine," Kiyev, the leech of the Ukraine, by the war correspondent, Erwin Kirchhof.

080 What, therefore, is to become of this country where intelligent men voice such shattering words? Now that the Bolsheviks have been driven out, there will first of all have to be a thorough stock-taking of the Ukrainian people to determine the presence of living cells capable of growth and development, in order that we may then, with careful consideration, be able to build, stone by stone, a new and better future. Too much in the way of diversified wealth and talent in the Ukraine has been destroyed or stunted by Muscovite imperialists, beginning with Peter the Great down to Stalin, the strangler, to make possible the achievement of such a tremendous task of reconstruction within a few years.

/Map in pocket of book/

The Peoples of the Ukraine

583
162 The distribution in 1939 of peoples and ethnic

11: Obermaier--206 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1

563 groups living in Ukrainian territory. For each 162 race there are two, sometimes even three degrees of density shown: a highly concentrated area of 90 percent (however without regard to Jews who in some areas constitute 10 percent and more of the population), then a majority area of 90 percent, and finally an area where no group has the absolute majority and where the relative majority is shown. The Ukraine is most compactly settled in the center as well as toward the west, north and south, whereas in the east it is loosely settled. Here a motley aspect of ethnic intermingling appeared; peoples live next to each other who racially, culturally and in matters of religion belong to the most diverse ethnic groups: Ukrainians and Great Russians, Central European Germans, Turko-Tatars, Mongolian peoples, as well as those small, heterogeneous mountain tribes of the Caucasus, that represent remnants of peoples in areas of regression.

11: Obermaier J-3(no date) 1942
RD1 Ukraine RD1

563
162

P.211	P.212	P.213	P.214
P.207	P.208	P.209	P.210

Schematic diagram to
end map

p.206(a)

11:Obermaier--207 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

563
162

/Key/

1, ▩ Ukrainians over 90 percent

▨ 50-90 percent

░ relative majority

2 ▥ Russians over 90 percent

▥ 50-90-percent

▥ relative majority

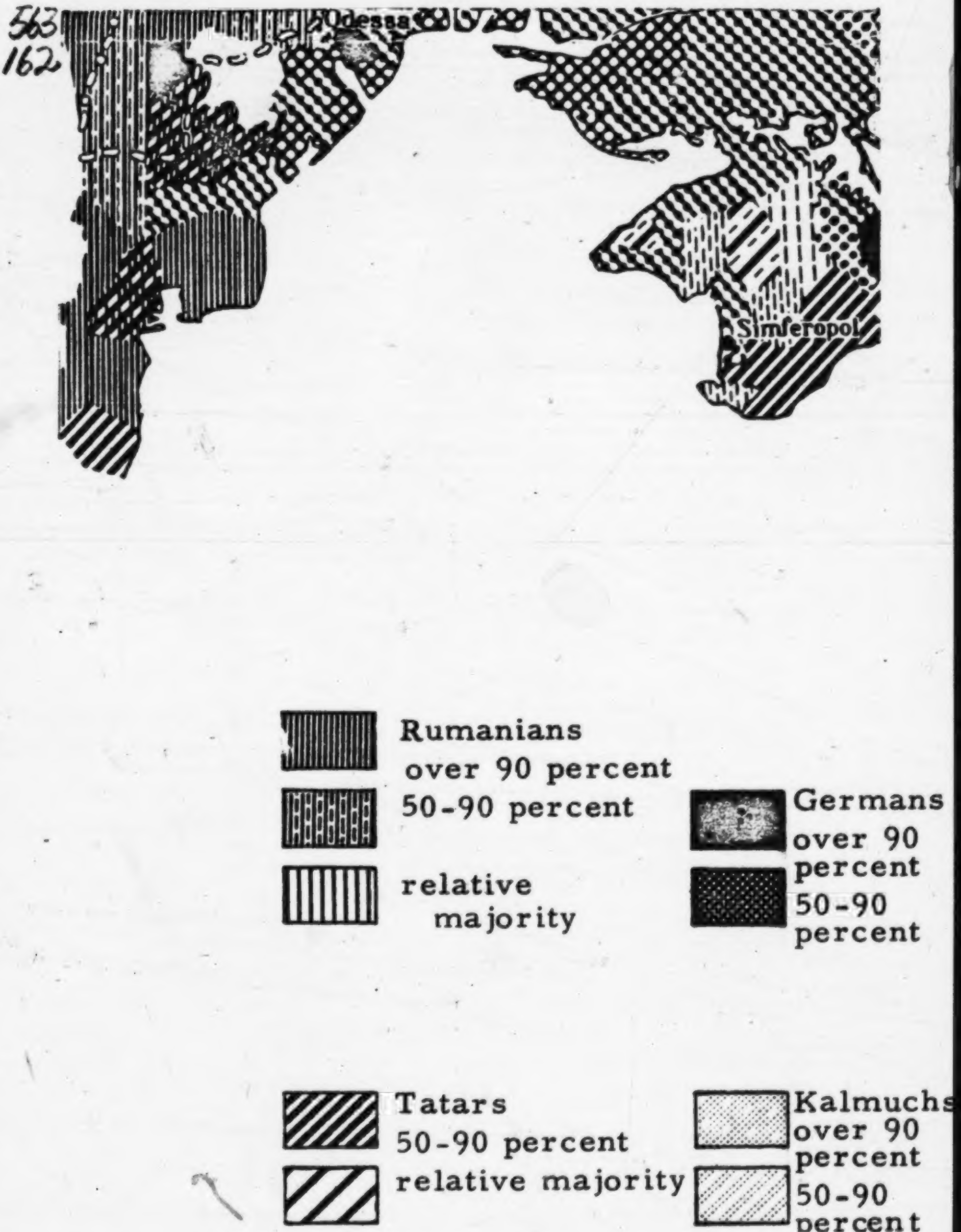
8 ▧ Greeks 50-90 percent

▧ relative majority

9 ▨ Hungarians 50-90 percent

▨ relative majority

11:Obermaier--208 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1


563
162
Odessa
Simferopol
Rumanians
over 90 percent
50-90 percent
relative majority
Germans
over 90 percent
50-90 percent
Tatars
50-90 percent
relative majority
Kalmuchs
over 90 percent
50-90 percent

11:Obermaier--209 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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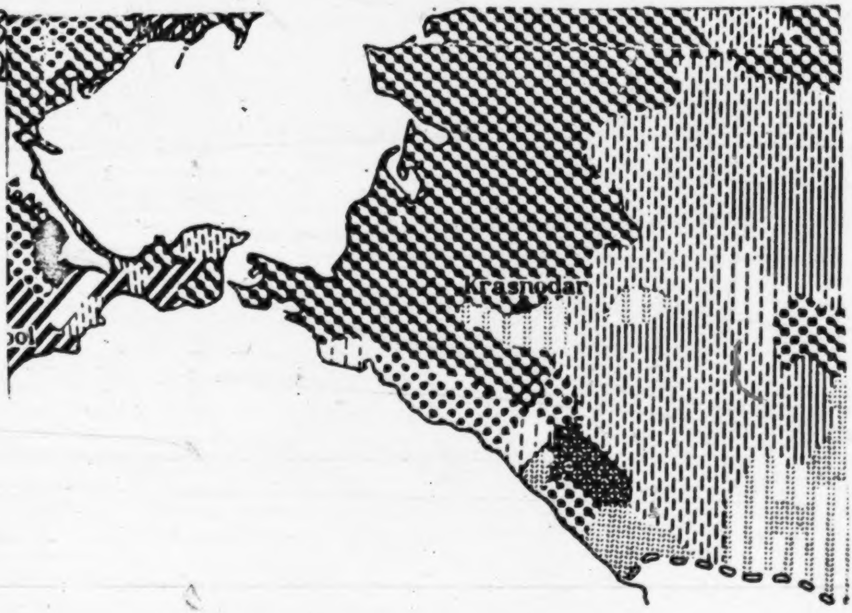

Slovaks
over 90 percent ▨
50-90 percent ▨

Ruthenians
over 90 percent ▒
50-90 percent ░

Caucasian Mtn. tribes
over 90 percent ░
50-90 percent ▥

Bulgarians
50-90 percent ▨

Armenians
50-90 percent ▩

11:Obermaier--210 J-3 (no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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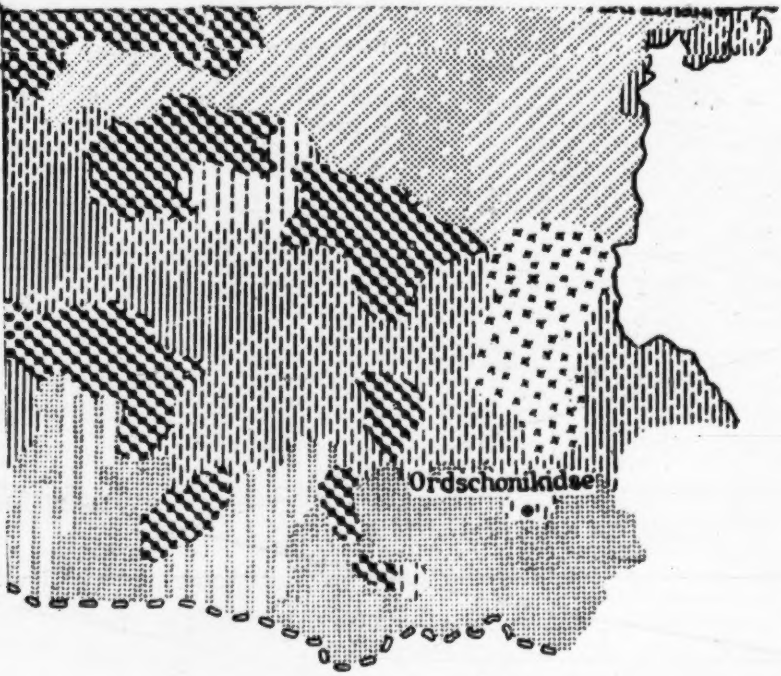
Ordschonikidse

▦ Poles
over 90 percent

▥ 50-90 percent

⁘ Nogai
50-90 percent

▩ Kirgiz or Kazakh
50-90 percent

11:Obermaier--211 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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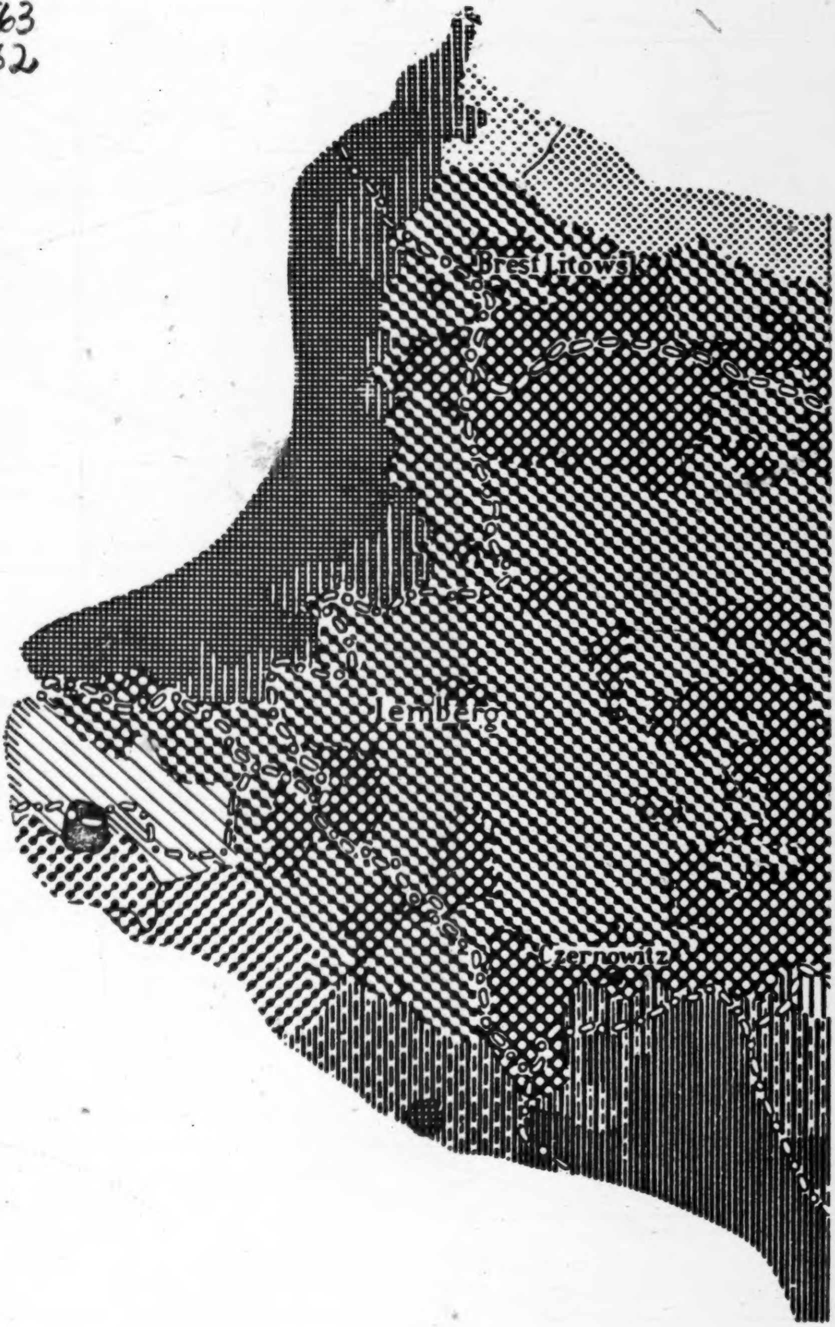
Brest Litowsk
Lemberg
Czernowitz

11:Obermaier--212 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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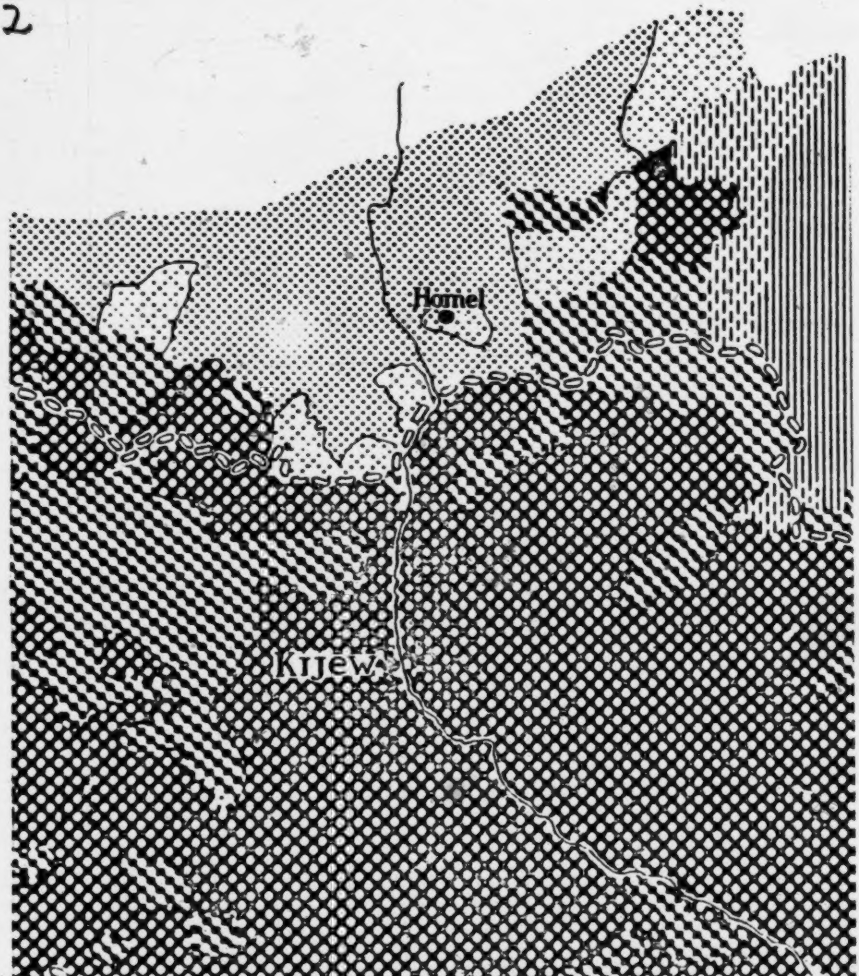
Homel
Kijew
Dnjepropetrowsk
Kischinew
Odessa

11:Obermaier--213 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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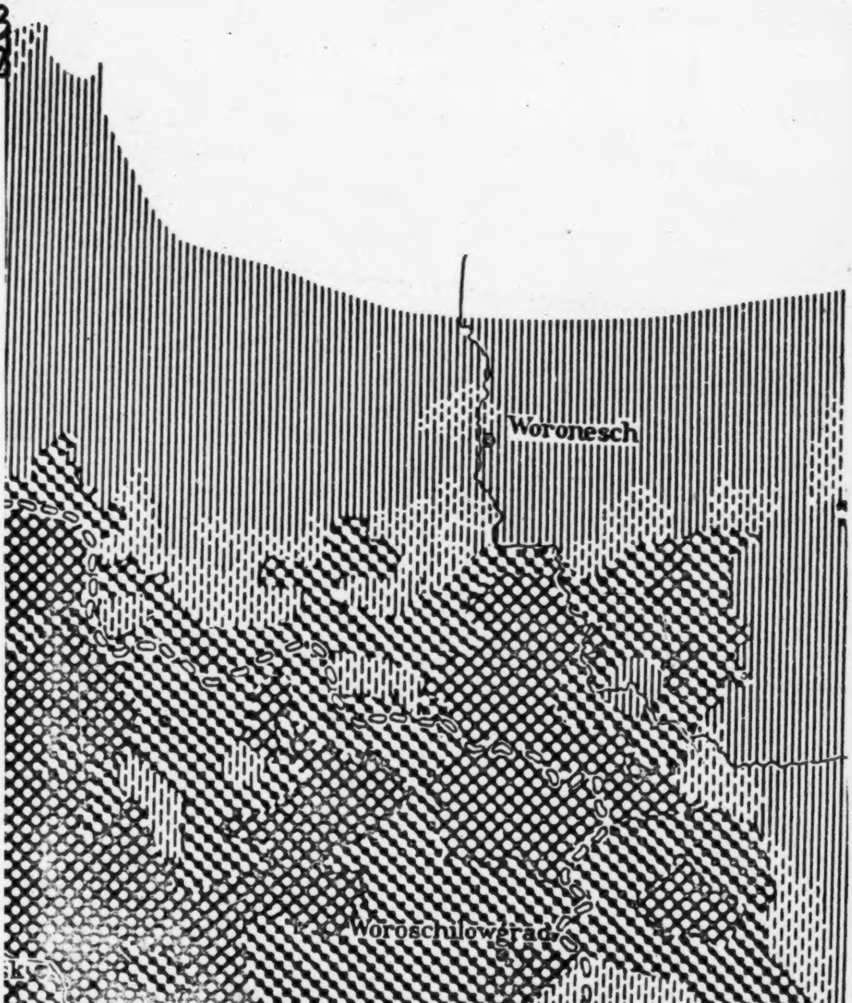
Woronesch
Woroschilowgrad
Rostow
k

11:Obermaier--214 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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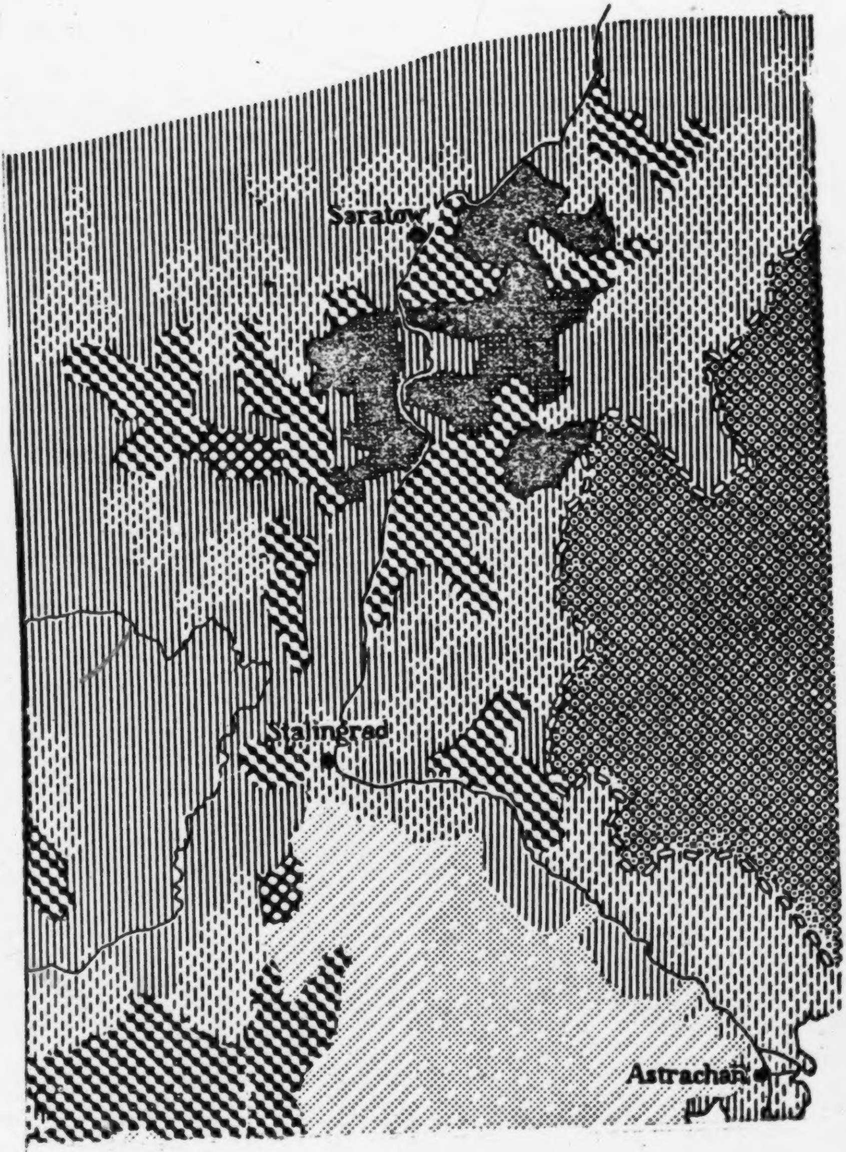
162


Saratow
Stalingrad
Astrachan

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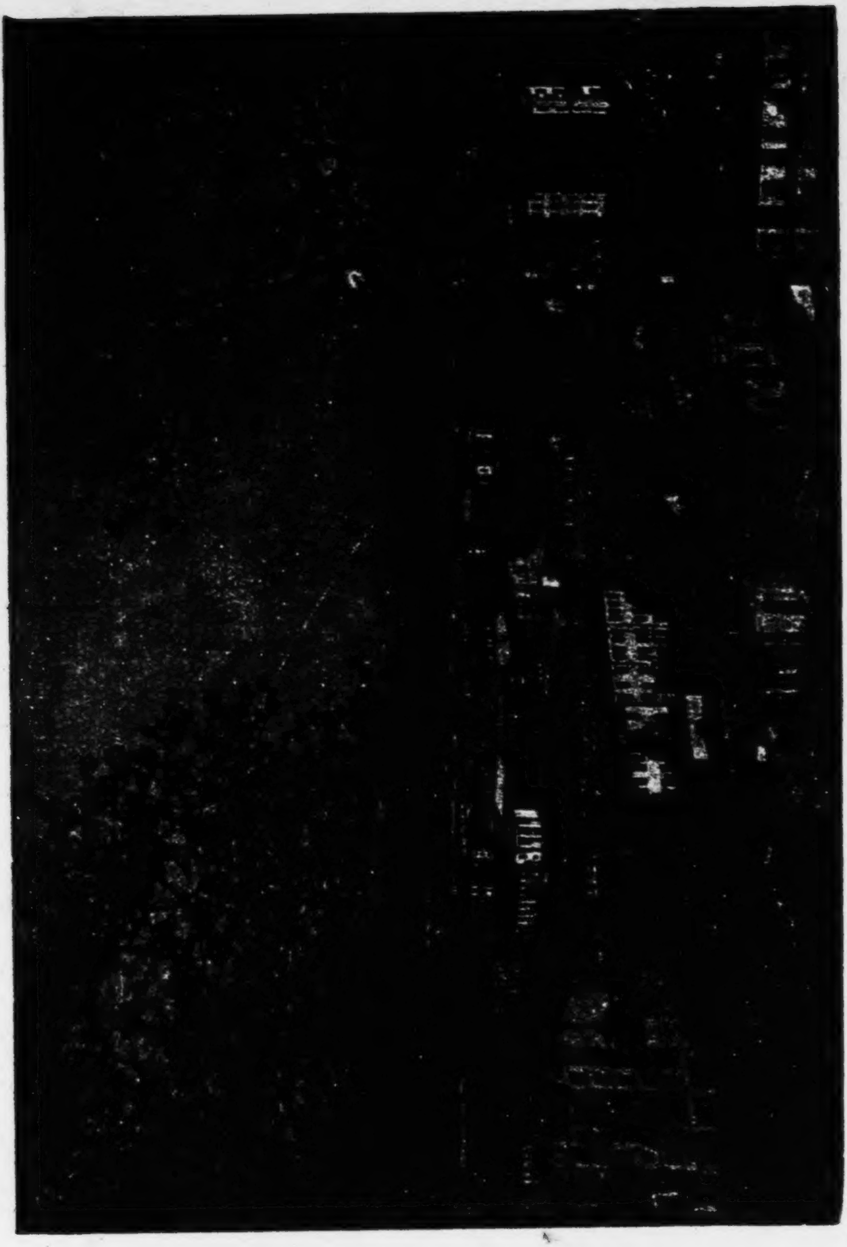

Kiev, The capital of Ukraine

11: Obermaier--216 J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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The old fortress of Feodosiya on the Crimea

11: Obermaier--217 J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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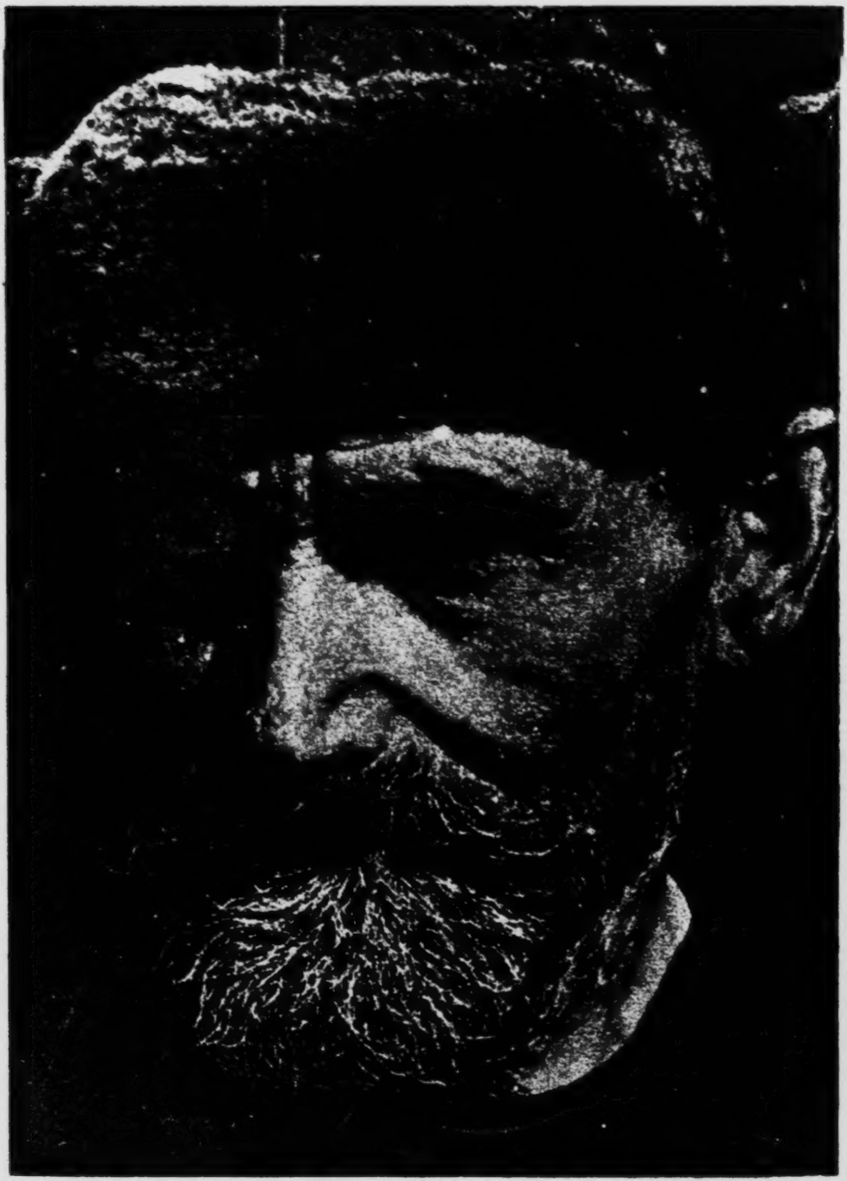

character study of a Ukrainian head

11: Obermaier--218 J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

M/T

A UKRAINIAN GIRL WITH PRONOUNCED NORDIC FEATURES

11: Obermaier --219 J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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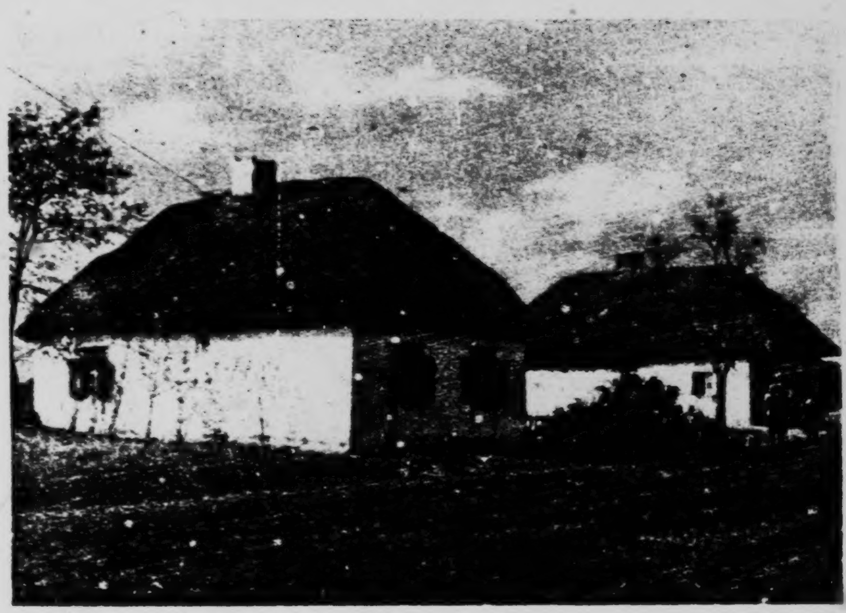
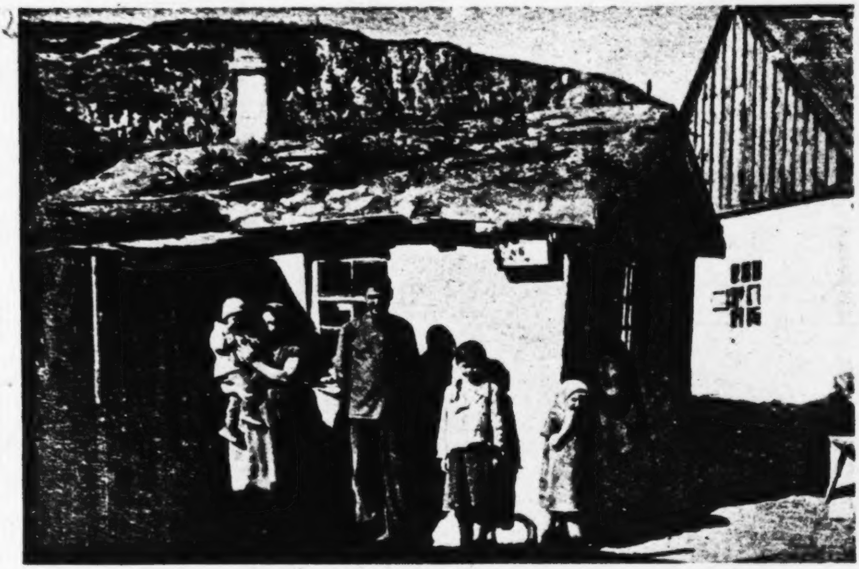
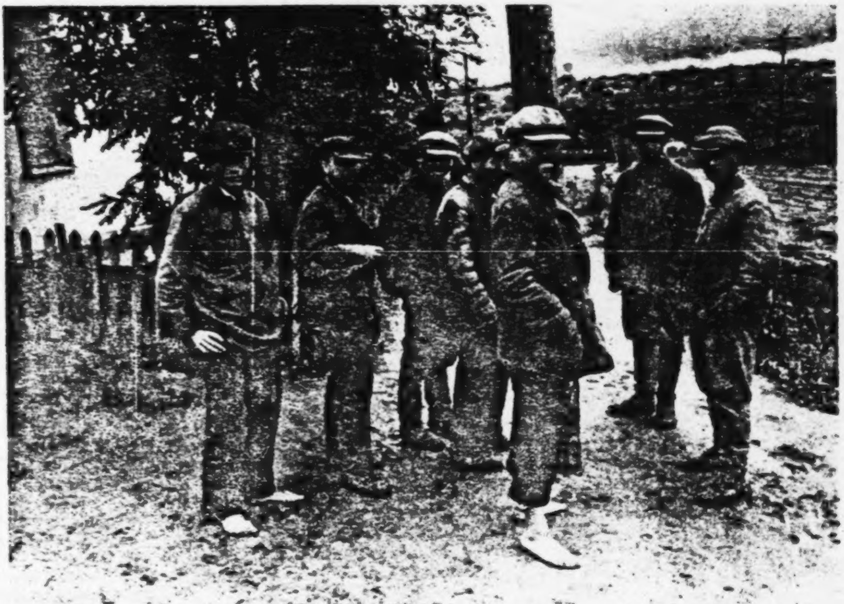


Ukrainian peasant loam huts

11: Obermaier--220 J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1



The hut in which a Ukrainian worker's family lives in Krivyi Rog.



Tractor drivers and tractor assemblers of a collective farm near Uman.

11: Obermaier--221 J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

(a)

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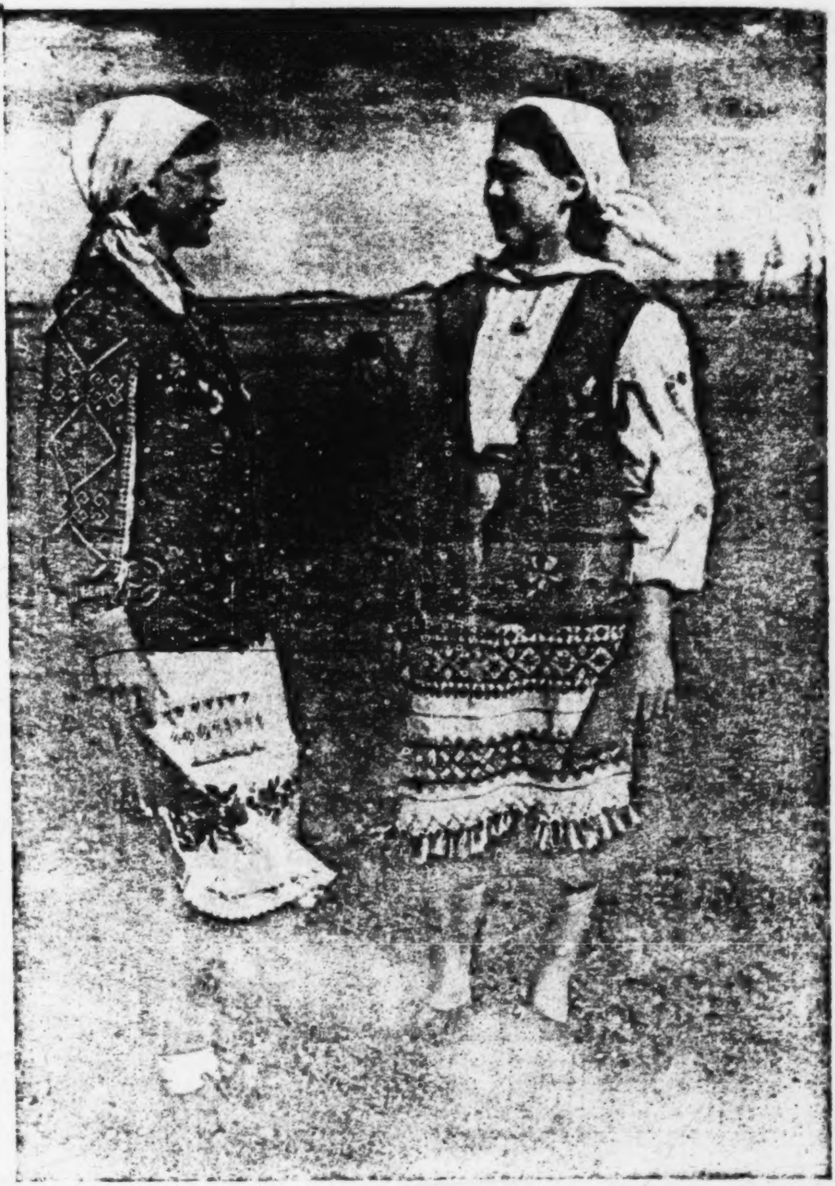

Handmade national costumes

11: Obermaier--221 J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

(b)

312

Ukrainian girl drawing water

11: Obermaier--222 J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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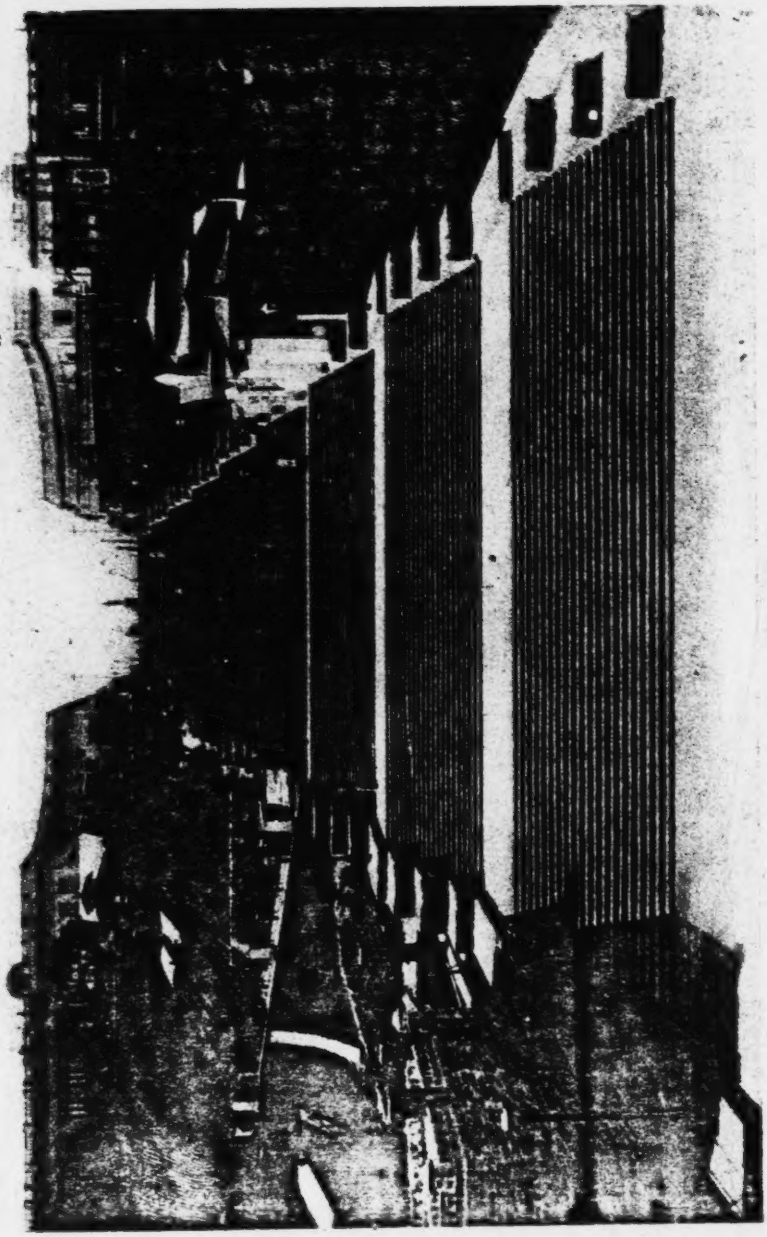
WORKERS' SETTLEMENT NEAR KRIVOY ROG

11: Obermaier--223 J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1



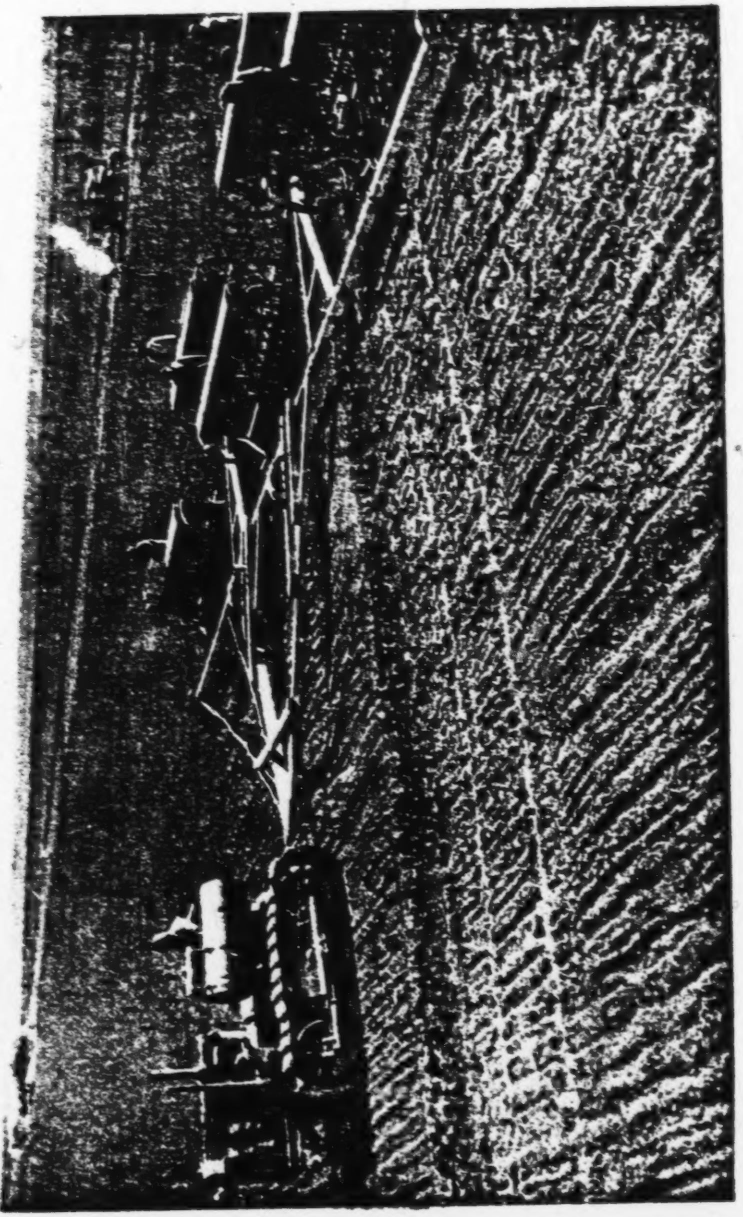
Richelieu Terrace in Odessa

11: Obermaier--224 J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

0801

Harrowing

11: Obermaier--225 J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1



planting

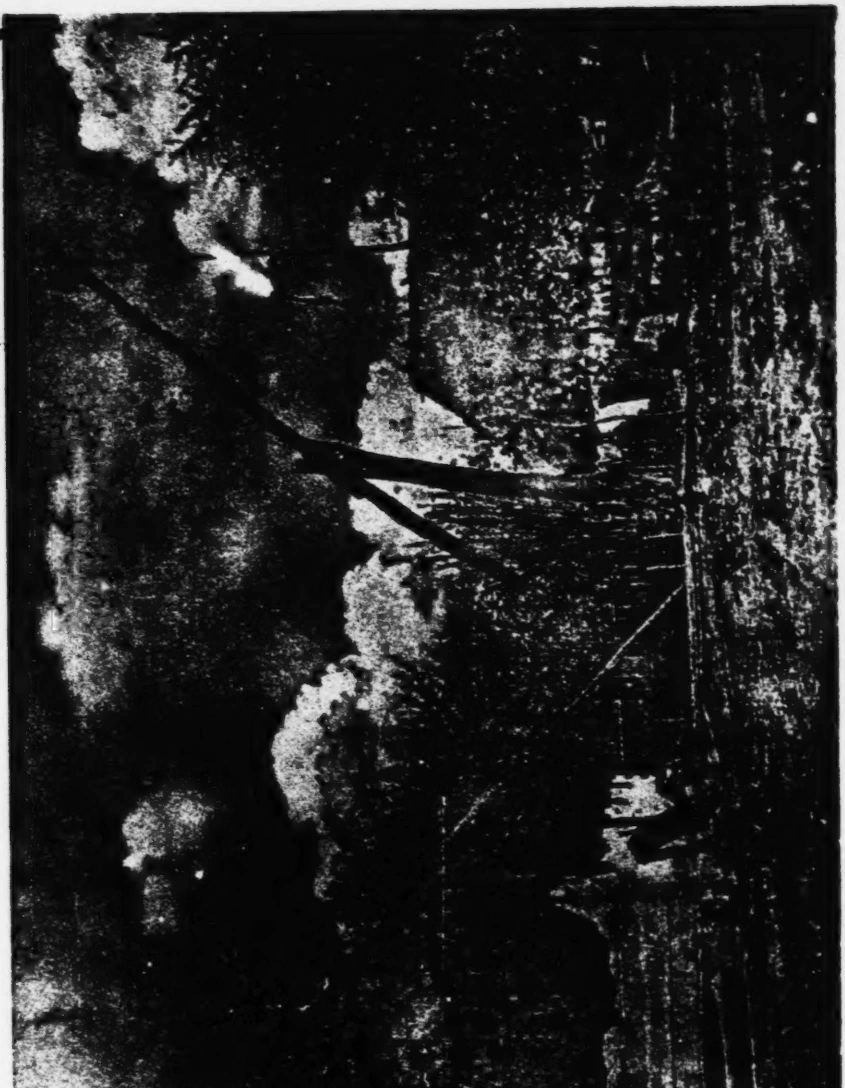
11: Obermaier--226 J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

249

An important agricultural product: sunflowers.

11: Obermaier--227 J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

312



A village in West Ukraine

11: Obermaier
162

RD1 Ukraine RD1

[For Magyar denationalization of the Boyki and Huzul Ukrainian tribes, see category 116, page 6]

11: Obermaier
162

RD1 Ukraine RD1

[For statistics on Ukrainians living outside the Ukrainian frontiers, see category 116, pp. 199 and 202]